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THE FORMATION OF KONKAṆĪ

BY

S. M. KATRE

DECCAN COLLEGE
Postgraduate and Research Institute
Poona
1966

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THE
FORMATION OF KOṄKAṆĪ

BY

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DECCAN COLLEGE
Postgraduate and Research Institute
Poona
1966

Code No.: BC 103

Second Reprint: 1000 copies, August 1966

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Price Rs.

Printed by S. Ramaswami, at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras-2, and Published by S. M. KATRE for the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Yeravada, Poona-6

FOREWORD

On the 15th of October 1964 the Deccan College celebrates the centenary of its main Building, and curiously enough this period coincides with the Silver Jubilee of the Postgraduate and Research Institute which, as successor to the Deccan College, started functioning from 17th August 1939 when members of the teaching faculty reported on duty. When I suggested to members of our faculty the novel idea that the centenary should be celebrated by the publication of a hundred monographs representing the research carried on under the auspices of the Deccan College in its several departments they readily accepted the suggestion. These contributions are from present and past faculty members and research scholars of the Deccan College, giving a cross-section of the manifold research that it has sponsored during the past twentyfive years. From small beginnings in 1939 the Deccan College has now grown into a well developed and developing Research Institute and become a national centre in so far as Linguistics, Archaeology and Ancient Indian History, and Anthropology and Sociology are concerned. Its international status is attested by the location of the Indian Institute of German Studies (jointly sponsored by Deccan College and the Goethe Institute of Munich), the American Institute of Indian Studies and a branch of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient in the campus of the Deccan College. The century of monographs not only symbolises the centenary of the original building and the silver jubilee of the Research Institute, but also the new spirit of critical enquiry and the promise of more to come.

7th January 1964

S. M. KATRE

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

Way back in 1921 when I was studying the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali under the guidance of Pandit Srinivasacarya the idea first struck me of developing a grammar of Koṅkaṇī as I knew it in its relation to Sanskrit. I was not acquainted then with the modern methods of linguistic research or the great works which already existed for a study of Indo-Aryan. It was chance acquaintance with the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci that excited my interest in this direction. When during the period 1928-1931 I spent four summers in England, France and Germany and became acquainted with the comparative grammars of Indo-European, Romance, Germanic and Indo-Aryan, the seed already planted during my study of Pāṇini and Patañjali sprouted and at the very first opportunity which I had in 1931 after my return from Europe I began the collection of material from a first-hand observation of my own and several cognate dialects for a scientific treatment of these dialects. But the work of collection and study has been interrupted on and off by other scientific undertakings of vaster proportions so that ultimately it has been reduced to the position of a by-product of my major research in the field of Indo-Aryan linguistics.

The first outcome of this attempt was my short study of *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, completed in 1932 but published in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, in 1934. This was followed during 1934-35 by the serial publication of my Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇī in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*. The first instalment of the present work was ready in 1936 but could only be published in the January 1937 issue of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Altogether seven instalments have now appeared, covering 160 royal octavo pages. The unity of the work has been to some extent affected by this serial publication and

the interval separating the first from the last instalment, but the fault is entirely mine, and the only excuse I have to offer is my pre-occupation with more urgent undertakings.

The occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebration of the Bhandarkar Institute seemed to me appropriate to bring out all these seven instalments in book form with a comparative etymological index of the vocables treated therein. That it has been possible for me to do so is chiefly due to the accommodation and encouragement given to me by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Director of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona by including the Index in the Bulletin of that Institute, and to Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute for expediting the completion of the last instalment. I wish to express here my deep obligation to these two Institutes which have never failed to give me the encouragement needed for the pursuit of such studies.

That the study has been at all possible—however imperfect in its execution or presentation of the facts—is a matter for which I am thankful to a number of friends and well-wishers who spared no pains in helping me with the material I needed for the work. In particular my wife has been my constant companion in the search for material needed on every aspect of this study; and it is but meet that her father who helped me all along in actively collecting a large part of the vocables and who would have rejoiced today in the publication of a work which he initiated and of which he saw only the first two instalments should be permanently associated with this work, and accordingly it has been dedicated to his memory.

Turning to the pleasant duty of thanking those who in one way or another helped me in the printing of this work, I must mention my colleague Mr. P. K. Gode, who has sustained me in all this work with his advice and co-operation. Mr. G. N. Shirigondekar of the Bhandarkar Institute has taken special care in the reading of the proofs and saved me from a number of errors, and despite the inevitable lapses of

the compositors, I have to thank them all for the patience with which they met the additional demands for special types and corrections. I have also to thank the Karnatak Printing Press for the expedition and care with which they have printed the Index.

In conclusion I hope that this work, with all its limitations and imperfections which were inevitable in the very manner of its publication, may yet initiate a new era in dialect studies by interesting the younger generation of linguists in India in this line of fruitful investigation.

Poona
1942

S. M. KATRE

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The present reprint corrects some of the typographical errors of the first edition with, it is hoped, avoidance of fresh misprints. The progress of historical linguistics in the field of modern Indo-Aryan has not materially changed the views expressed in the original essay and no attempts, therefore, have been made to modernise the presentation in terms of descriptive techniques.

The Index has been deliberately omitted from this reprint, since its main object at that time was to present the etymological material pertaining to Koṅkaṇī word forms. With the recent appearance of Sir Ralph Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan* (*CDIA*) it was thought desirable to delete this section, for those interested in the history of Koṅkaṇī word forms can get most of the materials in the *CDIA* with the latest materials drawn from the whole range of I-A languages.

A great deal of descriptive work remains to be done with regard to the dialects of Koṅkaṇī; a beginning has been made by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, but there are certain inherent defects in the information elicited and much more needs to be done in the field of dialectology. The reissue of this early study of Koṅkaṇī, it is hoped, will fill in a real need and stimulate new work not only in the field of Koṅkaṇī, but in the whole range of Indian languages and dialects.

The Deccan College has been entrusted by the Government of India with the preliminary work of completing the Linguistic Survey of India begun by the late Sir George Abraham Grierson, and the need for dialect study has already been recognised by the unanimous recommendations of the conference of linguists and educationists which met in Poona in 1953. With the growing number of linguists and the

larger opportunities our Universities are offering it should be possible for full dialect studies to be undertaken by use of modern techniques to enrich our linguistic wealth and make signal contributions to linguistic theory and applications. With this hope the present reprint is being offered to students of Indian and General Linguistics.

2nd August 1966 S. M. KATRE

CONTENTS

PARAS

INTRODUCTION .. 1–4

PART I : PHONOLOGY .. 5–186

Treatment of r- 7-14; Final vowels 15-20; Penultimate vowels 21-24; Prepenultimate vowels 25-31; Values of Konkaṇī A 32-47; Prakrit vowels in contact 48-58; Nasalisation of vowels 59-62; Konkaṇī vowels 66-75; History of consonants 76-77; Initial aspiration 78-79; Deaspiration 80; Cerebralisation 85-87; Initial consonants 102-107; Final consonants 108; Intervocalic consonants 109-119; Consonants in contact 120-141; Konkaṇī consonantism 143-174; Svarabhakti 175; Insertion of plosives 176; Insertion of r 177; Prothesis 178; Elision of consonants 179; Interchange of consonants 180; Metathesis 181; Sandhi 182-186.

PART II : MORPHOLOGY .. 187-301

General considerations 187-191; Declension 192; theme or stem 193; gender 194-198; number 199; case 200-215; Postpositions 216-223; Adjectives 224-228; Numerals 229-244; Pronouns 245-255.

Conjugation 256; themes 257-265; Flexion 266; Present Indicative 267-270; Imperative 271-273; Imperfect 274-277; Optative 278-280; Negative forms 281-285; Present participle 287; Past passive participle 288; Future and Obligatory participles 289; Infinitives and Absolutives 290-292; Adverbs 293-294; Conjunctions 295.

Nominal formation 297-299; Nominal composition 300; Verbal composition 301.

PART III : SYNTAX .. 302–309

Nominal and Verbal phrases 303; Accord 304-306; Order of Words 307-309.

PART IV : CONCLUSION .. 310–326

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. I propose to deal in this sketch with the origin and development of the Koṅkaṇī language as represented by some of its principal dialects. In my Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇī[1] I have attempted a study of nearly twenty dialects, materials for all of which are available in a varying degree. But in the present sketch I shall limit myself to the following six dialects which, beside being representative, provide rich material in the form of grammars, dictionaries, glossaries and contemporary literature. The dialects are:

s. Koṅkaṇī spoken by the Kanara or Chitrapur Sārasvats.

gs. K. spoken by the Gauḍa Sārasvats.

g. K. of the Goa Hindus, represented particularly in the writings of Mr. Valavlikar and in the Quarterly Journal *Navẽ Gõy* published by the Gomantak Press in Bombay.

x. K. of the Christians of Mangalore and South Kanara.

nx. K. of the Christians of North Kanara.

gx. K. of the Christians of Goa.

Thus we have here three representative Hindu and three Christian dialects of Koṅkaṇī which are principally dealt with; where necessary I have made reference to the other dialects also and the abbreviations will be indicated in the appropriate places.

1. See the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, vol. II, no. 1 ff, wherein the Glossary is appearing serially.

§ 2. In the writing of this study I have constantly referred to the following works:

A. *ON KOṄKAṆĪ.*

(i) Grammars:

1. *A Koṅkaṇī Grammar* by Father Angelus Francis Xavier MAFFEI, Mangalore, 1882.
2. *Elementos Gramaticais da Lingua Concani,* pelo Cónego Jose de S. RITA E. SOUZA, Lisboa, 1929.
3. *Grammatica da Liṅgua Concani,* composto pelo Padre Thomaz ESTEVAO, segunda impressão, Nova Goa, 1857.
4. *Gramatica da Lingua Concani,* by Mr. V. G. RANGEL, 1933.

(ii) Dictionaries:

1. *Diccianario Portuguez-Concani,* composto por um Missionario Italiano, Nova Goa, 1868.
2. *Diccianario Komkaṇī-Portuguez,* pelo Monsenhor Sebastião R. DALGADO, Bombay, 1893
3. *Diccionario Portuguez-Komkaṇī,* by Mgr. DALGADO, Bombay, 1905.
4. *English-Koṅkaṇī & Koṅkaṇī English Dictionary* by Father A. F. X. MAFFEI, Mangalore, 1883.
5. *An Etymological Glossary of Southern Koṅkaṇī, part I,* by H. NARAYAN RAO, B.A., B.L., Bombay, 1917.
6. *Furtadacho Novo Concani-Inglez Dicionar,* Bombay, 1930.
7. *A Dictionary of Concanim into English,* by A. C. José FRANCISCO, Bombay, 1916.
8. *A Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇī,* by S. M. KATRE, published serially in *Calcutta Oriental Journal,* vol. II *seq.*

(iii) Literature:

1. Mr. VALAVLIKAR'S writings, such as *Koṅkaṇī Bhāśecē Jait*, etc.
2. Dr. CHAVANS *Koṅkaṇī language*, Bombay, 1924. *Koṅkaṇī Proverbs*, Bombay, 1926.
3. Rao Bahdur S. S. TALMAKI: *Koṅkaṇī Proverbs*, Bombay, 1933, 1936.
4. *Navẽ Gõy*, Quarterly Journal in gK., published by the Gomantak Press, Bombay.
5. S. M. KATRE: *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, Calcutta University, 1935.
6. Dr. Santana RODRIGUES: *The Origin of Koṅkaṇī Language*, Coimbra, 1929.

B. *ON ALLIED LANGUAGES.*

1. A. MEILLET: *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, Paris 1934 (7th ed.).
2. Jules BLOCH: *La formation de la langue marathe*, Paris 1920, and *L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes*, Paris, 1934.
3. S. K. CHATTERJI: *Origin and Development of Bengali*, Calcutta, 1926.
4. Banarsi Das JAIN: *Phonology of Punjabi*, Lahore, 1934.
5. R. L. TURNER: *A Comparative, Etymological Dictionary of Nepali*—(of capital importance for Indo-Aryan Linguistics), London, 1931, and Gujarati Phonology in *JRAS*, 1921.
6. *The Wilson Philological Lectures*, delivered by (a) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and (b) Prof. N. B. Divatia.

7. *Linguistic Survey of India,* vol. VII, 1905.

8. WACKERNAGEL: *Altindische Grammatik,* I, II-1, III, 1896-1930.

The other sources will be referred to in their proper places.

§ 3. This study is divided into three parts: Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. The fourth and concluding part will deal with the position of Koṅkaṇī in Indo-Aryan and the various historical and other details available from different sources for a proper evaluation of the development of Koṅkaṇī and its breaking up into a number of dialects. In this terminal essay I shall also deal with the influences at work in Koṅkaṇī and give a detailed description of all the dialects.

As the subject of the growth and development of these dialects is dealt with here for the first time with some degree of scientific accuracy by the application of the canons of modern linguistics, it will be of some use to the serious student of General as well as Indo-Aryan Linguistics in that Koṅkaṇī is pre-eminently fit to illustrate the case of a non-literary language, which has kept its unique characteristics through the passage of centuries.

The lack of authoritative pronouncing dictionaries for the different dialects has been a great handicap to me in as much as no two dictionaries agree in a common orthography. But I have surmounted most of these difficulties by verifying the pronunciation of all such words. I am advisedly using the Roman transcription in preference to others as more convenient and logical, besides being useful to General Linguists.

§ 4. For a general description of Indo-Aryan languages reference may be made to Jules BLOCH's *L'indo-aryen,*[2] where

2. See also his *La langue marathe,* §§ 1-26.

he deals separately with the three stages through Vedic and Sanskrit to Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, literary and inscriptional Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas) and the modern vernaculars of Northern India. The relationship of Koṅkaṇī to the other vernaculars of Northern India will be considered in the terminal essay. It will be sufficient to mention here that Koṅkaṇī belongs to the same group which includes Marāṭhī and shows clear affinities with Gujarati also.

PART I: PHONOLOGY.

§ 5. Koṅkaṇī possesses the following sounds, a description of which is given in my Koṅkaṇī Phonetics:

Vowels: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō, ȧ.*

Consonants: *k, kh, g, gh, c, č, j, ǰ, ch, čh, jh, ǰh, ñ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, S, h, ḷ;* (*ṛ*).

Vowels

§ 6. It will be seen from the above that Koṅkaṇī possesses the vowels *a, i, u,* short and long, as well as *e, o,* which are also short and long, but not indicated in the Devanāgarī orthography as such. For actual pronunciation of these vowels see *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics,* §§ 33-40.

The primitive Indo-Aryan (PIA) diphthongs were already lost in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) stage, and they have come down as *e, o, i* or *u* in Koṅkaṇī (K), but new diphthongs of recent origin have come into being, due to the dropping of single intervocalic consonants in MIA where the *uḍvṛtta* vowel did not combine with the preceding of following vowel, but did so in the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) stage. Though *ȧ* is really [ɔ] and as such the equivalent of *o,* I have retained this symbol for the sake of a special discussion (see §§ 32-45).

Treatment of ṛ Vowel.

§ 7. In my paper on the treatment of Ṛ in Pali[3] I have already mentioned that ṛ of Sanskrit (Sk.) was represented by *a, i, u, ra, ri, ru,* or *rū* in Pali. This breaking up of ṛ (as well as ḷ), evident even in certain isolated forms in the Ṛgveda, was completed in MIA, except in certain borrowed words, and in NIA *a, i* or *u* represent this Sk. ṛ besides the corresponding Sk. vowels. These three treatments are generally found side by side in all NIA languages. By an examination of the development of this vowel in Aśokan Inscriptions Jules Bloch has come to the conclusion that ṛ > *a* is the usual treatment in the south-west and ṛ > *i* in the north and east.[4] The predominant treatment in Panjabi is thus ṛ > *i*.[5]

§ 8. Sk ṛ > K. *a* : s. *kaśi,* x. *kasi* (*kṛṣí-*) agriculture, cultivation; s. *ghāṭṭūka* (*ghṛṣṭá-*) to churn; s. gs. *taṇa* (*tṛ́ṇa-*) grass; s. gs. *tāna,* g. *tān* (*tṛṣṇā*) desire, thirst, gx. *āsvel* (*ṛ́kṣa-bhalla-*) bear; s. gs. *nāćūka* (*nṛ́tyati*) to dance; x. *pāṭi,* gx. *pāṭ,* g. *phāṭ,* s. gs. *phāṭi* (*pṛṣṭhá-*) the back; s. gs. *maḍĕ* (*mṛtaka-*) corpse; s. gs. *mātti,* g. x. gx. *māti* (*mṛttikā*) earth; s. gs. *vāḍi* (*vṛddhi-*) growth, interest; s. gs. *saḍlu,* x. *saḍiil* (cf. ***śṛthira-*: Sk. *śithila-* and root *śrath-*) loose; s. *saṁkāḷi,* x. *sāṁkaḷ* (*śṛ́ṅkhalā*) chain, fetter.

§ 9. Sk. ṛ > K. *i*: s. gs. *rīṇa* (*ṛṇá-*) debt; s. gs. *distā* (*dṛśyáte*) appears, seems; s. *drišṭi,* gs. *dišṭi,* x. *dišṭ* (*dṛṣṭi-*) sight; s. *viĕĕu,* gs. *viṁcu,* gx. *iṁcu* (*vṛ́ścika-*) scorpion; s. *kišan* (*kṛṣṇá-*) proper name; s. gs. *miṭhāi* (*mṛṣṭá-*) sweetmeat; s. gs. *śīṁga,* x. *śiṁga* (*śṛ́ṅga-*) horn.

§ 10. Sk. ṛ > K. *u* : gx. *krupā,* x. *kurpā* (*kṛpā*) pity, compassion; s. gs. *pāusu,* x. gx. *pāus* (*prāvṛṣa-*) rainy season, rains; s. gs. *mōsu,* x. *mos* (*mṛ́ṣā*) deception (cf. Kanarese *mosa,* der. fr. Sk.); gx. *gusoṁk* (*ghṛṣ-*) to enter;

3. *ABORI,* vol. XVI, pp. 189-201.
4. *La langue marathe,* § 31.
5. Jain, § 95.

s. *kuṭṭaṇu* (*kṛṣṇá-*) proper name; s. *huṁgtā* (** śṛṅghati*) smells.

§ 11. It will be clear from the above that in Koṅkaṇī the normal changes is $ṛ > a$. The explanation of the third treatment (except in the case of s. gs. *mātti*, x. *māti*) is that due to the presence of a labial element in the neighbourhood $ṛ$ is changed to *u*. The variations in the treatment of $ṛ$ are found in all IA languages, and are due not only to phonetic influences but also to borrowing from the central dialects.[6]

§ 12. That the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* represent normally the corresponding Sk. sounds will be clear from the following examples:

A. K. $ā < $ Sk. *ā*: s. *agaḷu* bar, latch; *āggaḷu* nx. *āgvaḷ*, sv. *āgoḷ*, *aggoḷu* (*agra-valaya-*) braid of hair, tress, s. gs. *aguṣṭẽ*, x. *āguṭẽ* nx. *āgṭẽ* (*agniṣṭhika*) braziery; s. gs. *aṭḷiqā* (*aṭṭālikā*) wall plank used as depository; x. nx. gx. *g. āj*, s. gs. *āji* (*adyá-*) today; s. gs. *āčāru* (*ācāra-*) taboo, nx. *āghūḍo* (*āghāṭáka-*) a plant; s. gs. *ājjo*, x. nx. gx. *ājo* (*ārya-ka-*) grandfather; s. gs. *kartā* (*karóti*), *mārtā* (*māráyati*), *gaḷo* (*galaka-*), *kānu* (*kárṇa-*), etc.

B. K. $\tilde{i} < $ Sk. $\tilde{i}$: s. gs. x. gx. nx. *iṁgḷo* (*iṅgāraka-*) live coal; x. gx. *iṁd*, s. gs. *hīṁḍu* (*hiṇḍa-*) flock; gx. *iṁdḷo*, *iṁduḷo* (*hindolakaḥ*) hammock; gx. *iv* (*himá-*) cold; s. gs. *vīṁ*, gx. *ī* (*vidyút*) lightning; nx. *ĩṭ*, s. gs. *iṭṭigā* (*iṣṭā*, *ístaka*) brick; s. gs. *śiṭṭā* (*sídhyati*) is cooked etc.

C. K. $û < $ Sk. *û*: s. gs. *uḍḍāka*, x. *uḍāk* (*udaká-*) water; s. gs. *muddi*, x. nx. gx. *mudi* (*mudrikā*) ring; ts. *ũṁdura* (*ũṁdura-*) rat, etc.; s. gs. *māta*, x. nx. gx. *mūt* (*mūtra-*) urine; s. gs. *sūta* (*sútra-*) string, etc.

§ 13. PIA differed from MIA in that it admitted of a greater variety of sounds (including $ṛ$, $ḷ$, *ai*, *au*, *ṅ*, *ñ*) and combination of consonants beside its comparative richness in morphology. Besides the changes in the above-mention-

6. *La langue marathe*, § 31.

ed vowels MIA had affected primarily a change in the conjunct consonants through the general principle of assimilation and reduced them to double consonants, and in the case of original single intervocalic consonants reduced them (from unvoiced to voiced, and from voiced to spirant and zero) according to the development of the particular dialect concerned. Thus *-t-* and *-th-* were reduced to *-d-* and *-dh-* in Śaurasenī, but were completely reduced by loss of occlusion giving *-h-* in the aspirated consonant only in Māhārāṣṭrī. With the loss of these intervocalic consonants the *udvṛtta* vowel came into contact with the preceding or following vowel without combining with it. But when we come down to the NIA stage we find further changes affecting even the PIA and MIA vowels which are the least affected sounds in IA. Excepting the loss of PIA *ṛ, ḷ, ai, au*, all the vowels have preserved their quality and quantity with very few exceptions in MIA, but when followed by a closed syllable the long vowels have become short except in NW. Prakrits.[7] After the literary Apabhraṁśa stage vowels in unaccented syllables have undergone fundamental changes.

§ 14. This naturally leads us to the question of accent. In Vedic the accent was mainly musical, but whether there was in addition a stress accent is open to doubt in view of the Hindu Grammarians' silence about it. In the explanation of certain Pk. forms Pischel ascribed to the musical accent functions similar to those of the stress accent. Grierson and Jacobi, on the other hand, assumed a stress accent to explain the vowel changes.[8] Whatever may have been the state of affairs in PIA and MIA, it is convenient to consider the syllabic prominence of a word or its quantitative rhythm in the study of the regular changes of quantity or even quality in Koṅkaṇī as in Marāṭhī or Panjabi.[9] This syllabic prominence is characterised by three

7. T. Michelson, *JAOS.*, vol. XXXI, p. 232.

8. Jain, § 10; Pischel, §§ 141-147.

9. Jain, p. 8; for a further discussion on accent see *La langue marathe*, §§ 32 seq.; Jain, §§ 10-12.

factors, viz., length, pitch and stress. The change will naturally depend upon the position of the vowel in the word, whether it is final, penultimate or prepenultimate, i.e. whether it is in accented or unaccented syllables.

A. Final Vowels

§ 15. Already in MIA the final consonants of PIA had dropped out with the result that all words ended only in vowels, reducing even the different classes of noun and verb inflexions to the standard type with a few exceptions only. Thus MIA knows only words ending in vowels: even here there was a tendency to reduce the final long vowels, though not to a very pronounced degree. Even in Sk. in the forms *yátrā*, *tátrā*, etc. the vowel has been reduced from the Vedic stage and come down only as *yatra*, *tatra*, etc. Some of these reductions have been attributed to contamination or analogy. At the time of the literary Apabhraṁśa stage the final *o* of the nom. sg. of masculine nouns ending in *-a* tends to become more and more *-u*, though not universally. Similarly *-e* and *-o* have been reduced to *-i* and *-u* respectively in the fragments of Dutreuil de Rhins.[10] This tendency only emphasises the fact that the final vowels in MIA were pronounced with very little accent and in course of time were lost in NIA.

In almost all NIA languages this final vowel was lost, the sole exceptions being Bihari, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Singalese and some of the dialects of Koṅkanī (see §§ 17-ff.). The northern group of Koṅkaṇī dialects following in the footsteps of other NIA languages, drop the final vowel.

§ 16. a) MIA *-a* and *-aṁ* (final) are lost in: gx. nx. g. *āj* (*aḍyá* : s. gs. *āji*) today; gx. *ǎs* (*haṁśa-*) a drake; nx. *ǎv* (*āmá-*) mucous; n. gx. *āṭ*, nx. *āṭh* (*aṣṭa-*) eight (but s. gs. *āṭa*); gx. nx. g. *kāl* (*kalyá-*) yesterday (but s. gs. *kāli*); gx. g. *pāy*, *pāv* (*pāda-*: s. gs. *pāyu*, *pāvu*) meaning respectively the foot and a measure of weight, gx. g. nx. *tāk* (*takram* : s.

10. *La langue marathe*, § 37.

gs. *tāka*) buttermilk; gx. *mōnus, màṇus* (*manuṣyá-*) man; gx. *mon*, g. *màn* (*mánas*: *maṇam*, s. gs. *mana*) mind.

(b) MIA *-ā* and *-aṁ* are lost in: gx. *āk* (Pk. *hakkā*) shout; gx. g. nx. *ās* (*āśā*) desire, *j̃āṁg* (*jáṅghā*) the thigh; g. gx. nx. *vāṭ* (*vártman*: Pk. *vaṭṭā, vaṭṭām*: s. gs. *vāṭa*) way, g. gx. nx. *lāj* (*lajjā*) shame.

(c) MIA *-i* and *-iṁ* are lost in: nom-acc. sg. of nouns ending in *-i-*: g. gx. nx. *āg* (*agníḥ*) fire; gx. *mōt, màt* (*matí-*) understanding.

(d) MIA *-ī* and *-ĩṁ* are lost in: nom. -acc. sg. and pl. of Sk. feminine nouns: *-ī, ĩṁ, -ĩḥ, -ĩn*, and feminine adjectives with Sk. ending *-inī*: *ĩṇ* (with compensatory lengthening of the penultimate) or *-ṇ* (with complete loss of the penultimate): nx. *bhikārīṇ, bhikārṇ*, gx, *bikāṇ* (*-kāriṇī*) a beggar woman; gx. *ārekārṇ, ārekāṇ* (*-kāriṇī*) a paralytic woman.

(e) MIA *-u* and *-uṁ* are lost in: nom. -acc. sg. of nouns ending in *-u-*: gx. *iṁg* (*hiṅgu-*) asafoetida; gx. *iǰ* (*vidút-*) lightning; — in the absolutive in *-unu* (attested in early Marāṭhi and in s. gs.) which appears to be due to contamination of Apabhraṁśa *-ūṇa* with *-eviṇu, eppiṇu*: **-uṇṇu*: gx. *āsūn* (but s. gs. *āsūnu*) etc.

(f) Examples of the loss of MIA *-ū* and *-ūṁ* are not common as this sound is already rare in Sk.; we can cite gx. *iǰ*, however, as the MIA inflected form is *vijjū*.

(g) Sk. *-e* and *-o* are reduced in inflection: gx. g.x. etc. *āspās* (*-pārśve*); g. gx. nx. *dēv* (*deváḥ*: Pa. *devo*, unless we consider the Apabhraṁśa form *devu* and bring it under (e) above); in this sense Sk. *-e* and *-o* are first reduced to *-i* and *u* and subsequently lost. As in Marāṭhī, *-e* is attested in K. *āmī, tumī* (through *asmé, *tuṣmé*).

§ 17. Grierson,[11] and following him Bloch[12] attribute the retention of the final vowel in Koṅkaṇ Marāṭhī[13] and in

11. *L. S. I.*, vol. *Mar.*, pp. 167, 188, 189.
12. *La Langue marathe*, p. 54.
13. (as a short vowel always).

Koṅkaṇī to Dravidian influence. As seen above the northern dialects of Koṅkaṇī (nx., gx. and g.) are conspicuous by the absence of this final vowel of MIA and follow the generality of NIA languages. But s. and gs. and to some extent x. and the southern-most dialect of Koṅkaṇī spoken in Cochin have preserved this vowel. Now the whole of the Koṅkaṇ territory was under the influence of Cālukya and Yādava rule from the 6th to about the 14th century A.D., and consequently we may expect to find Dravidian traces in the Indo-Aryan languages which developed from MIA to NIA within this region. The only point in this connection is the consideration of an alternative hypothesis: (i) the final vowel of MIA is retained, or (ii) a new vowel has developed after the final vowel once disappeared.

The Rev. Dr. CALDWELL[14] remarks: "Short *u* is of all vowels the weakest and lightest, and is largely used, especially at the end of words, for euphonic purposes, or as a help to enunciation." Thus in grammatical and literary Telugu every word without exception ends in a vowel as in modern Canarese. But in old Canarese and Tamil an *-u* is added only after the surds *k, c, ṭ, t, p* or *r*, but this *-u* is so short that the grammarians consider it equal to half of short *u*, and it is even mistaken for a short *a*, both of which in these circumstances are written as *u̯* and *a̯*. In Malayalam this sound is still more short as not to be written at all or if written indicated by the short circle above.

If we accept the second alternative and hold that s. gs. x. and c., after the dropping of MIA final vowels, as in nx., gx. and g., followed the mode set by these Dravidian languages, we shall have to fix the period of these new developments from the 16th century A.D. downwards, for it was in consequence of the Portuguese persecution which commenced on 30th June 1541 and continued unabated for over six decades, that a general exodus of the Brahmins of Goa took place,

14. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 3rd ed. 1913, p. 134.

and they sped southwards, first overrunning North Kanara and then South Kanara and even Cochin, although there had been sporadic emigration long before this time. But against this we should consider the forms like *devo, bhevo, mhāru, ritu, bholu, sãbhṇḷunu,* etc. quoted by Padre Thomaz Estevao.[15] These forms prove beyond doubt that even in this period the Koṅkaṇī of the Goa Brahmins preserved the final vowels of MIA and consequently the loss occurred at a much later date, so far as K. dialects were concerned. We are thus restricted to the first alternative that when s., gs. and x. separated from the Goa stock the final vowel was still pronounced, and it was only subsequent to this separation that the northern dialects g., gx. and nx. lost this vowel. This theory then limits the Dravidian influence only to the retention of the MIA vowels of the Apabhraṁśa stage and not to their introduction after they were once lost.

§ 18. s. gs. and x. have two series of words deriving from Sk. nouns ending in *-a-*, the masculine and the neuter: the masculine ends in *-u* and the neuter in *-a*, and this applies not only to inherited words, but also to learned borrowings.

Examples: (a) Masc.: gs. *pāyu, pāvu* (*pādaḥ*: Pa. *pādo*), *phāttōru* or *phāttaru* (*prastaráḥ*. Pa. Pk *pattharo*) a stone; *mhōru* (*mayūraḥ*) peacock; *kānu* (*kárṇaḥ*) ear; *devu* (*deváḥ*), *rāmu* (*rāmaḥ*), *kāḷu* (*kālaḥ*), etc. Now in the example Sk. *prastaráḥ*: Pk. Pa. *pattharo*, Ap. *pattharu*, s. gs. *phāttōru*, the final *-u* is seen affecting even the penultimate *-a-* and changing it to *-ō-* or *-à-* depending upon the number, as seen even in g. gx. *phātor* (sg.) and *phātàr* (pl.). The forms *devo, bhevo,* etc. given by Father Stephens are to be similarly explained, the *-o* being retained and not reduced to *-u* due to the presence of the bilabial *v*.

(b) Neuter: s. gs. *phaḷa* (*phálam*), *kājjaḷa* (*kajjalam*), *mana* (*manas*: Pk. *maṇaṁ*), *toṁḍa* (*tuṇḍam*), *piṁḍa* (*píṇḍaḥ*:

15. *Grammatica da Lingua Concani,* 2nd. ed. 1857, 1st. ed. 1640, §§ 23, 24.

but neut. in K.); *kāma* (*kárman*: Pa. *kammaṁ*) besides *karma, ghara* (MIA *gharaṁ* through Sk. *gṛha-*) etc.

That s., gs. etc. have not been directly influenced by Kanarese is illustrated by the following examples: *kāḍa* (Can. *kāḍu*) forest; *māḍa* (Can. *māḍu*) roof, etc. All neuter nouns thus end in *-a-* (with a few exceptions dealt with later on) which are derived from Sk. nouns in *-a-* or from Dravidian.

§ 19. Another case of such retention, but with reduction of quantity, is of feminine nouns in MIA *-a-*: s. gs. *vāṭa* (*vartman*: Pk. *vaṭṭā* f.), quoted also by Father STEPHENS in his Grammar, § 36, as *vāttō* where *ō* represents this short *a*; and *-tt-* represents *-ṭ-*; *māna* (*mányā*) the nape of the neck; *jīb(h)a* (*jihvā*) the tongue; *tāna* (*tṛṣṇā*) thirst, etc; *jāṁga* (*jaṅghā*) the thigh; *lāja* (*lajjā*) shame.

§ 20. As in other NIA languages, Koṅkaṇī has kept the final vowel in all learned borrowings, with the exception of some *semi-tatsama* words in g. and gx.: *kalpanā* (quoted by Father STEPHENS, § 36), *māruti, dayā, śrī, nalinī*, etc. It will be clear from these examples that with the exception of Sk. words ending in *-a-* (masculine) and *-u-* (masc. fem. or neut.) the other words borrowed represent the unaltered final vowel. All MIA words ending in *u* and coming down to K. either as inherited or semi-ts. words, are masculine, and therefore end in *u*, as in s. gs. *mhōvu* (*mádhu*: *mahu*).

B. PENULTIMATE VOWELS

§ 21. Since the Prakrit stage the penultimate vowel has generally been preserved in Koṅkaṇī as in other NIA languages. But as Koṅkaṇī has been principally a spoken language with very little literature, a secondary change has affected this vowel in certain cases, even in learned borrowings from Sanskrit or Prakrit (see §22).

Examples: — (*a*); for *-a-*: s. gs. *kapāṭa*. x. *kavaḍ*. (*kapāta-*); s. gs. *phāttara* (*prastarāḥ*) stones, slabs, *māṁkaḍa* (*markaṭa-*) monkey, etc. It will be seen that the length of the vowel is liable to change, but not the quality. We find the short vowel

also in such cases where it is derived from a short vowel followed by an original double or conjunct consonant: x *savat*, s. gs. *savati* (*sapatnī*) co-wife, x. *ālas* (*ālasya*) etc. Similarly the length is reduced in x. *kavaḍ* (*kapāṭa*), etc.

(β) for *-i-* and *-u-*: nx. *bhikārīṇ* (*kāriṇī*), and in ts. s. *kaṭhīṇa*, nx. *kaṭhīṇ* etc.; gx. *mānus*, *monus* (*manuṣya-*) man; s. gs. *lasūṇa*, x. gx. nx. *losuṇ* (*laśuna-*) garlic; s. gs. *rākkūḍa*, x. gx. *rākuḍ* (*lakuṭa-*) wood, firewood, faggot, etc.

§ 22. Exceptions:—In certain dialects, as a subsidiary change, the Sk. and Pk. penultimate is slurred over in pronunciation, with the result that in the existing forms it is completely lost. Corresponding to nx. *bhikrārṇ* there is also the form nx. *bhikārṇ* and gx. *bhikārṇ* or *bikārn* and s. gx. *bhikārṇi* (*kāriṇī*);

In nx. and gx. the penultimate has been slurred over completely, whereas in s. gs. it is lost but the final vowel is preserved. This tendency is seen even in tat-sama (ts.) words: Sk. *nalinī* > s. gs. *nalni* or *nanni* (through assimilation), Sk. *māruti* > s. *mārtī* or *mārúti* (with accent).

§ 23. The penultimate syllable of MIA has developed into the final vowel in Koṅkaṇī as in Marāṭhī (see *La langue marathe*, §§ 44 ff.); (i) either the penultimate was separated from the final vowel by a double consonant, in which case the final MIA vowel was lost as in g. gx. nx. *hāth* (Sk. *hásta-*: Pk. *hattha-*, but s. gs. *hātu*) hand, or (ii) the penultimate and final vowels came into contact due to an early loss of a single intervocalic consonant and coalesced in the NIA stage. The first case holds good for the northern dialects only (as g., gx., nx. etc.) and the second for all. As pointed out above (§ 17 ff.) s., gs. and to some extent x. and c. preserve the final MIA vowel in case (i).

§ 24. In a certain number of polysyllabic words the penultimate vowel has undergone changes of quality which are only proper to the prepenultimate unaccented vowels: s. gs. *nārlu* (for **nāralu*), x. nx. *nārl*, gx. nx. *nārel* (*nārikela-*) cocoanut; s. gs. *nisaṇi*, x. *nisaṇ*, nx. gx. x. *nisoṇ* (*niḥ-śreṇi-*)

ladder, escalator; s. gs. *kuṁkaḍ*, gx. nx. *kuṁkoṛ* (*kukkuṭá-*) fowl; s. gs. *haḷadi*, gx. *olod* (*haridrā*) turmeric, g. *huṁdir*, nx. *uṁdir* (but fem. *umdurli*) beside s. gs. *uṁdūru* (*umdura-*), etc. Some of these variants may be explained by the principle of assimilation or dissimilation, but it is difficult to account for all these variants. For this discolouration of the penultimate in dissyllabic words see § 29b.

C. Prepenultimate Vowels

I. In the Initial Syllable

§ 25. In general the initial syllable in Koṅkaṇī bears the accent, and this, therefore, is the least affected of all vowel sounds. We have to consider several cases here separately in order to evaluate the general treatment in the different dialects treated here; these are α) conservation of the etymological quantity, i.e., (i) short vowel of K. < short of MIA and (ii) long vowel of K. < long of MIA, irrespective of the nature of the syllable, whether closed or open; and β) non-conservation of this quantity, i.e., (i) long vowels of K. < short of MIA a) regularly in closed syllable, and b) sporadically elsewhere, and (ii) short vowel of K. < long of MIA.

§ 26. (α): (i) *a* > *a*: s. gs. *kaḍu* (*kaṭu-*) bitter; *kaḍo* essence; *kaḍayṭā* boils, *kaḍayillē* gruel (*kvath*); *kaṇu* (*káṇa-*) grain, *kalaśu* sacred vessel used in divine service, *kalso* pitcher, (*kaláśa-*); *kaḷo* (*kalā*) bud; *kaḷtā* (*kalú-*) knows; *khavo* (Deś. *khavao*) shoulder; *ad-khaḷtā* (*skhal-*) hinders; *khāi* (Sk. *kasmin*: Ap. *kahiṁ*) where; *kharḍu* (*khára-*) rough; *khaḷu* (*khála-*) starch or any liquid extract; *garmi* (*gharmá-*) hot, heat; *galo* (*galaka-*) throat; *ghaḍtā* (*ghaṭ-*) happens; *ghaḍi* (*ghaṭi-*) a moment; *ghara* (Sk. *gṛhá-*: Pa. Pk. *ghara-*) house; *čaḍtā* (Pk. *caḍ-*) climbs, rises; *čaṇo* (*caṇaka-*) horse-gram; *čartā* (*car-*) grazes; *čaltā* (*cal-*) moves, continues; *čarma* (semi-ts. *cárman-*) hide; *jaḍa* (*jaḍa-*) heavy; *jaṇa* (*jána-*) person; *jaro* (*jvara-*) fever; *jaḷū* (*jalaukā*) leech; *jaḷtā* (*jval-*) burns; *jhaḍi* (Deś. *jhaḍī*) fine rain; *jhartā* (*kṣar-*) wastes; *jhaḷkatā* (*jval-*) lightens, shines; *taṭṭe* (**taṣṭaka-*: cf. Avesta *tašta-*) a small glass or metal vessel;

tarno (*táruṇaka-*) young; *tavo* (*tapaka-*) roasting pan; *taḷẽ* (**taḍaga-*) pond, lake; *taḷtā* (Deś. *tal-*) fries; *tavśẽ* (*trapuṣa-*) a vegetable; *thãi* (Sk. *tasmin*: Ap. *tahī*) there; *tharthartā* (*tharatharāyate*) trembles; *daṁḍu* (*daṇḍá-*) fine; *dasami* (*daśami*) the tenth day; *dasro* (*daśaharā*) the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month of *Āśvina*, Dusserah; *daḷtā* (*dal-*) grinds; *dhãi* (Sk. *dádhi-*: Pk. *dahiṁ* curds); *dhartā* (*dhar-*) holds; *dhaskatā* (Deś. *dhasakka-*) trembles; *navẽ* (*navaka-*) new; *naḷi* (*nalikā*) tube; *naḷu* (*nala-*) pipe; *nãi* (*na-hi*) no, *naṇada* (*nánāndā*) husband's sister; *naṁtara* (*anantarám*) after; *nhãi* (*nadī*) river; *paṁčāvana* (Deś. *pañcāvaṇṇā*) fiftyfive; *paḍtā* (*pat-*) falls; *paḍḍūḷa* (*paṭola-*) a vegetable; *paṇasu* (*panasa-*) jack-fruit; *paṇtu* (*pranaptṛ-*) grand-son; *patri* (*patrikā*) the leaf of Laurus Cassia; *paṁčami* (*pañcamī*) the fifth day of a lunar fortnight; *paṁdrā* (*páñcadaśa-*) fifteen; *pannāsa* (*pañcāśát*) fifty; *palaṁgpōsu* (*paryanka-*) bed-spread; *paḷayatā* (*pralokayati*) sees; *paḷtā* (*palāyate*) flies; *phaḷa* (*phála-*) fruit; *phaḷẽ* (*phalaka-*) plank; *phaḷāru* (*phalāhāra-*) light refreshments; *baḍbaḍtā* (Deś. *baḍabáḍai*) babbles; *barẽ* (**baraka-*) good; *baḷẽ* (**balaya-*) bracelet; *bastā* (*upaviśati*) sits; *bhaiṇi* (*bhaginī*) sister; *bhartā* (*bhar-*) fills; *bhaṣṭa* (semi-ts. *bhraṣṭa-*) polluted; *maḍẽ* (*mṛtakam*) corpse; *martā* (*mar-*) dies; *maśi* (*maṣi-*) lamp-black; *masṇē* (*śamaśānam*) place of cremation, crematorium; *mhaśi* (*máhiṣī*) buffalo; *mhaṇtā* (*bhaṇ-*) says; *ragata* (*rakta-*) blood; *raḍtā* (*raṭ-*) cries; *raṇṇē* crying; *rathnomi* (*rathanavamī*) a festival day; *rassu* (*rása-*) essence; *raśi* (*rasikā* or *rasyam*) pus; *laddi* (Deś. *laddiā*) horse dung; *lasūṇa* (*laśuna-*) garlic; *vaṭhāṇa* (*upasthāna-*) residence; *vaḍu* (*vaṭa-*) bunyan; *vāḷbatā* (*avalamb-*) hanging resolutely; *vaḍi* (Deś. *vaḍī*) a savoury; *vari* (*upári*) above; *varasa* (*varsá-*) year; *valẽ* (*valaya-*) a half of a cocoanut; *vali* (*vallī*) a cover; *vačūka* (Pk. *vacca-*) to go; *vhartā* (*apahar-*) takes; *vharḍīka* (*vadhū-vara-*) marriage *śaṁbhari*[16] (*śatá-*) hundred; *śanvāru* (*śani-*) Saturday; *saru* (*sará-*) garland; *sartā* (*sar-*) moves; semi-ts.: *saǰǰanu*

16. Through * *śeṁbhari*.

(*sajjana-*) quiet person; *sagḷo* (*sakalaka-*) whole; *sakāḷī* (*sakalya-*) at dawn, in the morning; *satrā* (*saptadaśa-*) seventeen and in cmpds. *satte°* or *sattā-°* (*saptá-*); *savti* (*sapátnī*); *savāi* (*sapāda-*) a quarter above; *haṇu* (*hánu-*) jaw; *hatyāra* (Deś *hatthiyāra-*) instrument; *hapto* (lw. Pers. through Av. *hapta*, Sk. *saptáka-*) a week; *harḍo* (*harītakī*) myrobalan; *haryẽ* (*háritaka-*) green, unripe, etc.

g. *ghar* (*gṛhá-*); *parkī* (*pára-*); *mhaṇṇī* (*bhaṇ-*); *marāṭhī* (*marahaṭṭī-*); *sagḷī* (*sakala-*) *ajūn* (Pa *ajjuṇha*) etc.

(ii) *ā* > *ā*: s. gs. *kāṇso* (*kāṇá-*) squint-eyed; *kāyḷo* (*kāka-*) a crow; *kāśẽ* (*kāṁsya-*) brass *kāḷo* (*kālaka-*) black; *khāṇa*, *khāttā* (*khād-*) eats; *khāru* (*kṣāra-*) saltish; *gāyi* (MIA. *gāvī*) a cow; *gāvu* (*grāma-*) village; *ghāṇi* (*ghrāṇa-*) smell; *ghāri* (Deś. *ghāriā*) a fried savoury; *ghāyu*, *ghāvu* (*ghāta-*) a wound; *ghāsu* (*grāsa-* or from *ghas-*) a mouthful; *čāḷa* (*śālā*) tenement; *jāyi* (*jātī*) jasmine; *jāṇtā* (*jānāti*) knows; *jāvayi* (*jāmātṛ-*) son-in-law; *jāgi* (*jāgrat-*) awake; *jāḷi* (*jāla-*) a sieve; *jhāḍa* (Deś. *jhāṭa-*) shrub; *ṭhāṇa* (*sthāna-*) camp; *tāṁbẽ* copper, *tāṁṭi* copper-smith; *tāṁbḍẽ* (*tāmrá-*) red; *tāḷo* (*tālu-*) throat, voice; *dārvaṭẽ* (*dvāra-*) porch; *nāva* (*nāman-*) name; *nārlu* (*nārikela-*) cocoanut) *nhāna* (*snāna-*) bath; *pāgāru* (*prākāra-*) fortification; *pāuṇ-* (*pādona-*) a quarter less; *pāyu* (*pāda-*) foot; *pāvu* (*pāda-*) a measure of weight; *pāvtā* (*prāp-*) reaches; *pāvsu* (*prāvṛṣa-*) rain; *bāmmūṇu* (*brāhmaṇa-*) husband; *bāyla* (*bhāryā* > *bhāirā* > * *bhāilā*) wife; *bāṛā* (*dvādaśa*: Ap. *bāraha*) twelve; *bhāṇa* (*bhāṇḍa-*) a large vessel; *bhāira* (*bāhira-*) out-side; *bhāvu* (*bhrātṛ-*) brother; *bhāvaja* (*bhrātur-jāyā*) brother's wife; *mājjara* (*mārjāra-*) a cat; *māvḷo* (*mātula-*) maternal uncle; *māsa* (*māṁśá-*) meat:—in the case of *māaǰǰra* and *māsa* we cannot say whether they are directly connected with PIA forms: it is possible that they may be more reasonably treated under (*b*): (i) a.—*rāni* (*rājñī*) a queen; *rāyu* (*rājan-*) a king, *rāvḷār* A*rājakula-* + *āgāra-*) a palace; *lāyṭā* (*lāgayati*) touches; *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva; *vādi*, *vādo* (*vāṭa-*) habitude, habitation; *vākaṛṇa* (*vyākaraṇa-*) dictation; *vāni* (*vāṇiá-*) a Bunia; *vārẽ* (*vāta-*) breeze; *sādi* or *sāde-*

(*sārdha-*) a half over; *sāvḷi* (*chāyā́*) shadow; *hārḍi* (*hárda-* astride, on the heart; *hāso* (*hā́sa-*) a laugh, etc.

g. *ǰālī* (*jātá*); *ǰāṇumk* (*jānáti*); *bhās* (*bhāṣā*); *ādlo* (*ādi-*) *mārumk* (*mār-*); *sāḷo* (*śā́lāḥ*), etc.

(β): (i) (a)—*ā* < *a* in heavy syllable: *āppaṇa* (MIA inflected form *appaṇo* < Sk. *ātmán-*) oneself; *kājjaḷa*, x. nx. gx. *kāǰaḷ* (*kajjala-*) unguent; *kātri* (*kartarī*) scissors; *kānu* (*kárṇa-*) ear; *kāpūru* (*kārpūra-*) camphor; *kāsavu* (*kacchapa-*) tortoise; *khākko*, x. *kāk*, nx. gx. *khāk* (*kákṣa-*) armpit; *khāṁdu*, x. nx. gx. g. *khāṁd* (*skandhá-*) shoulder; *khāṁbo* (*skambháka-*) pillar; *gāḍḍava*, x. *gāḍāū* gx. *gāḍū̃*, nx. *gāḍhū̃* (*gardabhá-*) ass; *gāṁṭi*, x. *gāṁṭ*, etc. (*granthí-*) knot; *ghāṁṭa*, x. gx. nx. g. *ghāṁṭ* (*ghaṇṭā*) bell; *ghāstā* (*gharṣ-*) polishes, rubs; *cāka* (*cakrá-*) wheel, slice; *čāṁdaṇẽ* (*candranikā-*) moonlight; *čābtā* (*carv-*) bites; *čāmḍē* (*cárman-*) hide; *ǰāṁga* (*jáṅghā*) thigh; *ǰāṁboi* (*jṛmbhā*) yawn; *tāka* (*takra-*) butter-milk; *nāgḍo* (*nagná-*) naked; *nāṁcūka* (*nṛtyati*) to dance; *nāstā* (*náśyati*) is spoiled or destroyed; *nāttu*, *nāti*, x. nx. gx. g. *nātu* (*náptṛ-*) grand-son or granddaughter; *pāku* (*pakvá-*) boiled sugar; *pāka* (*pakṣá-*) wing; *pākḷi* (*pákṣma-*) lid; *phāṭi*, x. nx. gx. g. *phāṭ*, gx. *pāṭ* (*pṛṣṭhá-*) back; *phāttara*, g. gx. *phātàr* (*prastará-*) stone, slab; *bāṁdūka* (*bandh-*) to tie; *bhāgtā* (*bhagna-*) looses weight, wastes; *bhāǰ-tā* (*bhrajj-*) roasts; *bhāta* (*bhā̃ktá*) rice; *māgtā* (*mārg-*: MIA *magg-*) begs, seeks; *mātti*, x. gx. nx. g. *māti* (*mṛ́ttikā*) mud; *māttẽ*, x. nx. gx. *mātẽ* (*mastaka-*) head, scalp; *māna* (*manyā*) nape of the neck; *rāktā* (*rakṣ-*) protects, guards; *rāǰǰu*, x. nx. gx. *rāju* (*rájju-*) rope; *rāna* (*áraṇya-*: MIA *raṇṇa-*) wood; *rābtā* (cf. *rambh-*) stays, remains; *lāgtā* (*lagyate*) touches; *lāǰa* (*lajjā*) shame; *vāṁkḍẽ* (*vakrá-*) crooked; *vāḍi* (*vṛ́ddhi-*) increase, growth; *vāḍ-tā* (*várdhate*) grows; *vāti* (*vṛtti-*, *vartikā*) wick; *vāso* (*vaṁśá-*) bamboo; *vāsrū* (*vatsá-*) young (of cows, etc.); *sāṁǰa* (*sandhyā́*) dusk; *sāta* (*saptá-*) seven; *sāttẽ* (*chatra-*) umbrella, sunshade; *hāḍa* (*haḍḍa-*) bone; *hāltā* (Deś. *hall-*) moves.

(b) *ā* < *a* in open syllable sporadically:—gx. *ānbāvārti* (*anubhava-*); *ādik* (*adhika-*: gx. *odhik*, *odik*); *āpurto* (*ápūr-*

ta-); *āpurbāi* (*ápūrvá-*); etc.—s. gs. *pāḍvo* (*pratipád-*) x. *āvastā* (*avasthā*); gx. *āukās* (*avakāśa-*).

(ii) *a*<*ā*: (a) generally when the syllable in K. is closed: S. *vajjẽ* (*vāhya-*);

(b) sporadically in open syllable: s. gs. *khasu* (*kāsa-*); c. sv. *avaḷ* (*āmalaka-*).

§ 27. The treatment of *i* and *u* in the initial syllable differs from that of *a* in that they are always short in polysyllabic words and always long in dissyllabic words, irrespective of the original nature of the syllable, whether light or heavy; but when the syllable in Koṅkaṇī is heavy it loses its length in dissyllabic words. Thus we may formulate the general rule that the penultimate vowel in dissyllabic words is always long; in the case of *a* which is pronounced as a saṁvṛta in the southern dialects, there are two lengths not indicated in writing, but always understood in pronunciation; e.g. in the word *mana* the first *a* is double the second, but in the inflected form *manāka* the first and final are short. Examples:—

(a) *i-*: *jīvu* (*jîvá-*) life, but *jivᵃśĩ; jikᵃtā* wins, but *jĩka* win thou; *pīṭá* (*piṣṭá-*) but *piṭṭi; pĩḷu* (*pṓḍ-*) twist, but *piḷᵃtā*, etc.

(b) *u-*: *dhūra* (*dūrá-*) far, but *dhuvoru* (*dhūmá-*) smoke; *pūrā* (*pūra-*) all, but *purᵃtā* (*pūrita-*) fills, etc.

In all the above cases a regular law governs the alternation of the long and short vowels in Morphology.

§ 28. In the case of *e* and *o* they are both long or both short, depending upon whether the following vowel is *i*, *u* or not: secondly when PIA. *e* or *o* occurs in the initial syllable of dissyllabic words it is always long, e.g. *ēka, ēku, ēki* (*eka-*); but when this *e* or *o* comes through PIA. *-aya-* or *ava-* the rule governing the length is the first one; thus *meṇa* (**mayaṇa-*) and *koṇa* (*kavaṇa-*). Although for the sake of convenience we have adopted *e, ē, o, ō* in orthography to represent the short and long vowels they differ in the tongue position in pronunciation; for the correct value of these phonemes see

my *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, §§ 36, 38. Even here, the value of *e* in *meṇa* and *meṇācẽ* is variable, the first being twice as long as the second; similarly in *koṇa* and *koṇālẽ* the first *o* is the lengthened variety of the second.

§ 29. Exceptions: In spite of this general tendency of preserving the vowel in the initial syllable, there are some inexplicable exceptions:—

(a) in polysyllabic words:—*uṁgṭo* (*aṅgúṣṭha-*); *vari* (*upári*), etc.

(b) in dissyllabic words: s. gs. etc. *piktā* (*pakvá-*), but *pāṁku* with differentiation in meaning.

II. In the Non-initial Syllable

§ 30. In the interior of a word *i* and *u*, both short and long, lose their proper articulation[17] and become confounded with *a*, and so treated in the rhythmic scheme of a word. Examples:—

i:— nx. *āgṭī* (*agní-*) brazier; s. gs. *parmaḷa* (*parimala-*) scent; *pāḍvo* (*pratipád-*) first day of the lunar fortnight; gx. x. *pākrũ* (*pakṣirūpa-*) bird-like, bird, *vikraytá* (*viṣkir-*) drops, etc.

ī:— This is first reduced to *i*, and if retained at all, is always short; e.g. [*joṣi*] (*jyotiṣ-*) astrologer.

u:— s. gs. *āpaḍtā* (*āspṛṣta-* > *appuṭṭha*) touches; *uṁgṭo* (*aṅgúṣṭha-*) thumb, *ulṭo* (*ulluṭhati*) reverse; *gurguru* (for *guruguru-*) gurgling noise; *tarno* (*táruṇa-*) young, *puraitu* (*puróhita-* > *purŭhita-*, see under *o*:-) a priest; *suṭ-suṭi* (for *suṭu-suṭi*) active, etc.

ū:— *vhákkala* (*vadhū-kulya-*) a bride, etc.

e:— *uḍtā* (*uḍḍayate*: MIA *uḍḍei*) jumps;

17. *La langue marathe*, § 50.

o:— s. gs. *āṅgso* (*aṅgoñchaḥ*: MIA **aṅgoccha-*, *aṅguccha-*) a towel; *kaṛti* (*karoṭi-*) cocoanut shell; *aḷṇī, aḷḷi* (*alavaṇa-*: [MIA] *aloṇia-*) insipid, without salt etc.

§ 31. *ā* in the interior of a word:

a): is reduced in: s. gs. *ārti* (*ārātrikā*) lights waved before the image of god; nx *āsḍi* (Pa *asātikā*) eye brows; *kaḍhai* (*kaṭāha-*) a big vessel; *gavli* (*gopalin-*) cowherd; *pārvo* (*parāvata-*) pigeon; *porno* (*paurāṇaka-*: MIA *porāṇao-*) old, ancient etc.

b): is preserved.

1°: in such cases where *ā* is the result of a contraction: *kāmāru* (*karmakāra-*) black-smith; *čāmāru* (*carmakāra-*) dealer in hides; *divāḷi* (*dīpāvali-*) the season of lights, etc.

2°: in some morphemes: s. *nid-kāraytā, nidāytā* puts to sleep (*-āya-* of causative); many examples of this *-āya-* suffix may be quoted from all the different dialects.

3°: in compound words: s. gs. *madrāti* (*mádhya*-and *rātri-*) midnight.

D. Values of Konkani *a*.

§ 32. Before studying the behaviour of MIA vowels in contact in the development of Koṅkaṇī, as well as the principle of labialisation and of contraction, it is very necessary to study thoroughly that most intriguing of all vowels—the neutral vowel *a*—which assumes different values in the different dialects of Konkaṇī.

§ 33. PIA *a* descended from Indo-European (IE) short **a*, **e*, **o*, and the nasal sonants. But as early as the Vedic stage it did not correspond to the short of PIA *ā;* it had a closer pronunciation than that of short *a*. On this account a distinction had already been made between the *saṁvṛta* and *vivṛta* pronunciation of the same symbol. In his commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Patañjali says at the beginning of the Śivasūtra:— *a-kārasya vivṛtopadeśaḥ kartavyaḥ; kim prayo-*

janam? ā-kāragrahaṇārthaḥ, etc. The vivṛta *a* corresponds to the short of *ā,* which is also vivṛta, and for the purpose of *Savarṇagrahaṇa* this discussion is started; further on he says:— *"naiva loke na ca vede a-kāro vivṛto' sti-; kas tarhi? saṁvṛto yo' sti sa bhaviṣyati.-"* No further proof is necessary than the final sūtra of Pāṇini to show that the only type of the *a*-phoneme was the closed variety, the open variety being found only in grammatical treatises for a theoretical discussion on *Savarṇagrahaṇa.* When we come to MIA we find that in general PIA vowels are preserved both in quality and quantity with a few exceptions only. The state of affairs is different in the case of NIA as we have already seen (§§ 30, 31). Vowels in accented syllables have preserved their characteristics while those in unaccented syllables have suffered very much. Already in Pāḷi we find *pheggu* (*phalgú-*), *miñjā* (*majjā́*);[18] etc. similarly in Prakrit we have *pikka* (*pakvá-*) *puḍhama,* (*prathamá-*)[19] etc. When IA *a* is compared with Dravidian *a,* we feel the difference between the *saṁvṛta* and *vivṛta* pronunciations; to a certain extent also when a European pronounces this IA phoneme, the *vivṛta* predominates over the saṁvṛta. But in the whole group of IA languages the close, neutral pronunciation is the general rule, with one big exception in the case of Bengali where this phoneme has developed a peculiar sound resembling *o* in English *hot,* but considerably higher than it and slightly lower than the cardinal vowel [ɔ] without any lip-rounding.[20] When we begin to study the dialects of Koṅkaṇī the problem of PIA and MIA *a* becomes insistent. The mass of material is bewildering and the descriptions of this sound rather confusing in the treatises of this language.

§ 34. In his *Elementos Gramaticais da Liṅgua Concani,* Canan José de S. RITA E SOUZA gives two symbols for Sk. a (अ): *A-* short, close; *a-* short, open. Regarding the pronun-

18. GEIGER, *Pali Literatur und Sprache,* § 9.
19. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Spracher,* §§ 101, 104.
20. S. K. CHATTERJI, *Bengali Phonetics,* § 41, where the final lax vowel is represented by o.

ciation of these symbols he remarks: "this letter (अ) which is termed the central (or middle) vowel has nearly the sound of open *o*; open *a* or close *A* is bound up with all consonants (i.e. inherent in all consonants) in the Devanāgarī script," (p. 8, f.n. 2). At another place (p. 13, f.n.) he observes further:— "A difficulty exists still regarding the employment in writing of the central vowel (अ) *a* or *A*, and the diphthong *o* (आ) whose sounds are confused in pronunciation." He also admits that this difficulty leads one to commit errors, and where *o* (ओ) is to be used *a* or *A* (अ) may be used or vice versa.

§ 35. Father MAFFEI, in his *Konkani Grammar* (p. 5) gives the following transliteration:— *ă*-short *a* (very often near to *ó*); *a*- common a (nearest approach to *u* in English *but* or the a in Latin *farō* as pronounced in Italy); *ó*- closed *o;* *ó*- open o; *o*- common o. The only thing worth noting about Father MAFFEI's transliteration is the division of the *a*-phoneme into four groups: *ă*, *ā*, *a*, *ạ*, the last of which he calls the half *a*, which corresponds to a whispered vowel *a*, appearing only at the end of words.

§ 36. In his literary works written in Devanāgarī characters Mr. VALAVLIKAR follows the following notation; *a* (अ), *ā* (आ), *à* (ॲ); about this last *à* he says in the foot-note to his book; *"Gōykōrāčo Munbaikār"* on the first page, that this sound is very near to short, open *o* (ओ), in fact half way between *a* and *o*. This corresponds to the inverted signs used in Marāṭhī script to indicate the open English *e* and *o* sounds in borrowed words. This system has been generally adopted in all Koṅkaṇī writings printed in Devanāgarī script.

§ 37. In the second edition of Father Thomas STEPHEN's *Grammatica da Lingua Concani*, corrected and annotated by Cunha RIVARA in 1857 (p. 164) Sk. a (अ) is represented by *ŏ*, *ā* (आ), by *a*, and (ओ) by *o*. In the *Diccionario Portuguez—Concani*, edited by the same scholar in 1868, a slightly different transcription is used: Sk. (अ) is represented by *"a"*, (आ) by "a", and (ओ) by "o". In the first transcription the exact values are shown; according to this PIA and

MIA *a* is developed into an *o*—phoneme, which is not exactly the same as the descendants of PIA or MIA *o, -ava-*, etc. In this connection we may compare a somewhat parallel development in Gujarati, where the *o*—phoneme has different values according to its development from PIA, MIA *o,* or PIA, MIA *-ava-*, with a corresponding development of the *e*—phoneme.

§ 38. For the purpose of our study these systems will be sufficient, in as much as these are uniform and more exact than the others in constant use. We shall first consider the various examples in the different dialects, with reference to their true etymology from PIA and determine from a comparative study of all these examples the nature of the change, its extent and the possible explanation for such a change. It will be clear from the context that Father Maffei stands for x., Canon Jose de S. Rita v Souza and Cunha Rivara represent gx., Mgr. Dalgado nx., and Mr. Valavlikar g.

§ 39 g.—: (N. B. I shall use the symbol *à* for अॅ). *anpàt* (s. gs. *anpatya*) necessity, *aṇbhàv* (*anu-bhava-*) experience, *aḍčàṇ* (s. gs. *aḍčaṇi*, gx. *āḍčAṇ*) difficulty, in sing,—pl. *aḍčaṇī; āsà* (s. gs. *āssa*) is; *àrth* (*ártha-*) meaning; *kàr* (s. gs. *kari*) do thou; *khabàr* (s. gs. *khabbari*) news; *kīḷàc* (s. gs. *kiḷaci*) shriek; *kātàr* (*kartárī*) scissors; *kàs* (s. gs. *kaśśi*) how?; *ghàṭṭ* (s. gs. *ghaṭṭi*) strong; *čukāvàḷ* (*-āvali-*) erratum, but *čukāvaḷi; čàḍ* (s. gs. *čaḍa*) much, *jàḍ* (*jaḍa-*) heavy; *tàr* (s. gs. *tari*) if; *dhàr* (*dhar-*) hold; *nisàṇ* (s. gs. *nisaṇi*) ladder; *nitàḷ* (*-tala-*: s. gs. *nittaḷa*); *niśčày* (*niśčaya-*) determination; *nivàḷ* (s. *nivaḷa*) strained liquid; *naǰà* (s. gs. *naǰa*) no!; *pràt* (*práti-*) copy, *saraspàt* (*sárasvatī*); *śàkt* (*śakí-*) power; *soḍvaṇ* (s. gs. *soḍvaṇi*) escape; *sàrg* (*svargá-*) heaven; *saṁvày* (M. *savay*) friendship, liking; *samàǰ* (NIA *samaj- samajh-*,) understanding; *sắvkàḷ* (s. gs. *saṁkvaḷi* or *saṁvkaḷi*) company; examples may be multiplied without number. I shall quote a few also from Mr. Valavlikar's writings in Roman characters (where he uses the italicized *a* for this *à*); *iṣṭāgàt* (*-gata-*) friendship; *bàràp* (s. gs. *barapa*) writing; *sàkāḷī* (*sakalya*) at

dawn; *(sàgḷẽ* (*sakala-*) all; *pàràṁt* (*param+tu*) afterwards, but; *bàgàr* (s. gs. *bagar*) without; *phaḷ* (*phála-*) fruit etc.

It will be clear from the examples quoted above that where the law of labialisation does not apply, we may formulate that in most words which do not end in *-i*, the penultimate *-a-* becomes *-à-*, and in verbal forms the final *-a-* becomes *-à* as in *ɲajà*, *āsà*, etc. But there are many exceptions, e.g. *ghar* (*ghara-*), and *majkūr*. This vowel *à-* is also lost in morphology: *bhūysāgàr* (*-sāgara-*), but *bhuysāgrā* (gen. form); in this function it is the same as the ordinary **saṁvṛta a.**

§ 40. gx.—(N.B.: for the italicised *a* I shall use, *a*, and the *A* will remain as it is). (*a*) Examples of *à*: *udàk* (*udaká-*) water; *āṭhàu* (s. gs. *āṭhavu*, *āṭhōvu*) memory; the prefixes: *ábhi-*, *áti-* etc. (really prepositions); *iṣṭàg At* (cf. g. *iṣṭāgàt*) friend; *ànAn* (s. gs. *aṁdaṇa*) Anona squamosa; *àtrek* (*atirekά-*) excess; *āydàn* (*āyátana-*) vessel; *ànn* (*ánna-*) rice; *āpàṇ* (*ātmán*: MIA *appaṇo*) self; *àrdo* (*ardhá-*) half; *àṭhrā* (*aṣṭādaśa-*) eighteen; *àṁtàskārn* (*antáḥ-karaṇa-*) heart; *kāgàd* (s. gs. *kāgaḍa*) paper; *kàrm* (*kárman-*) act, deed; *kàḍu*[21] (*kaṭu-*) bitter; *kàḍsāṇ* bitterness; *kàlAy* (s. gs. *kalāyi*) zinc; *khàrḍo* (*khàra-*) waste; *kāpàḍ* (s. gs. *kāppaḍa*, Sk. *karpaṭa-*) cloth; *khàro* (Mar. *kharā*, s. gs. *kharo*) true; *ghàr* (*gṛhá-*: *ghara-*) house; *gàrāy* (H.*gavaiyyā*) musician; *ghàrdār* (from *ghàr*) household, house and wife; *gàràj* (s. gs. *garaǰ*) necessity; *ghàdàp* (*ghaṭa-*) happening; *ghàṭāy* (s. gs. *ghaṭṭāi*) strength; *gàribpàṇ* (s. *garīb-paṇa*) poverty; *bàgàr* (s. *bagar*) without, unless; *čàli*[22] (s. *čalli*, gs. *celli*) girl; *čākár* (s. gs. *cākaru*) servant; *čàvecyāḷīs* (*catuṣ-*) fortyfour; *čàuto* (*caturthá-*) fourth; *čàltālẽ* (*cal-*) was happening; *čàṇo* (*caṇaka-*) gram; *zāmbàḷ* (*-phala-*) a fruit; *zàṇ* (*jána-*) person; *zhàmp-* (*jhampa-*) jump; *tirfàḷ* (*triphala-*) a fruit; or the tree bearing this fruit; *tàkli* (s. gs. *takli*) brain, head, *thāpàt* (s. gs. *thāppaṭa*) slap; *tàrno* (*táruṇa-*) young; *dhàn* (*dhána-*)

21. The expected form is *kAḍu*.
22. Should be *čAli*.

wealth, riches; *dhàvo* (*dhavá-*) white; *dhàr̃* (*dhar-*) hold; *nàv* (*nava-*) nine, *nàzo* (s. gs. *naǰǰa*) no!; *nàmàskār* (*namaskāra-*) salutation, greeting; *nidàuṁk* (s. gs. *nidatā' nidetā*) to sleep; the suffix *-pàṇ* (*-pana-*); *pàṇAs* (*panasa-*) jack; *vàrdes* (*paradeśa-*) foreign land; *pàdvī* (*padavī*) station, position; *pfàḷ* (*phála-*) fruit;*pàilo* (s. gs. *pailo*) first; *pàḷevuṁk* (*paḷàytā*) to see; *pàrtàlo* (s. *partalo,* M. *paratlā*) returned; *pàḍlo* (*pat-*) fell; *fàkàt* (s. *phaktā-*) entirely; *bàrẽ* (s. *barẽ* M. *barā*) good; *bàsi*[23] (s. gs. *baśi,* NIA *basī*) plate; *bàḷ* (*bala-*) strength; *bàràuṁk* (*bari-*Can.) to write; *bhàǰàn* (*bhajana-*) devotion; *bàglēk* (s. gs. *baglēka,* NIA *bagal*) aside; *bhàṁvt-Aṇīm* (*bhram-*); *māzàr* (*marjāra-*) a cat; *mànis*[24] (*manuṣyá-*) man; *màḍkẽ* (s. *maḍkẽ*) an earthern vessel; *màḷàb* (s. gs. c. *maḷapa*) sky; *màḷṇī* (*mal-*) kneading; *màǰo* (s. *maǰǰo*) mine; *màdẽ* (*madhya-*) amid; *mhàṇtā* (s. gs. *mhaṇ-*) says; *mhāràg* (s. gs. *mhāraga*) dear; *ràčṇār* (*rac-*) creater; *ràsāḷ* (**rasālu-*) juicy; *ràḍṇẽ* (*ràṭ-*) cry; s. gs. *làḍāy* (s. gs. *làḍāi*) fight; *lokhàṇ* (*lohakhaṇḍa-*) iron; *vàir* (*upari*) above; *vàč* (MIA *vacca-*) go; *sàdāṁč* (*sádā*) always, everyday; *śākàr* (*śárkarā*) sugar; *sàṁsār* (*saṁsāra-*) worldly life; *sàmest* (*sámasta-*) all; *sàṁlāp* (*santāpá-*) regret; *sàvāy* (*sapāda-*) a quarter above; *ṣà* (*ṣaṭ-*) six; *sàkàl* (*sakala-*) every; *hàǰār* (s. gs. *hazāra*) a thousand; *hàrśẽ,* (s. gs. *harśẽ, herśẽ*) another time. etc.

(β): Examples of *A.*— *āvAy* (s. gs. *āvai*) mother; *ānAṁd* (*ānandá-*) happiness; *āltAḍī* (*-taṭa-*) on this shore; *igArji* (s. gs. *igarji*) church; *ugAḍtāl̃* (s. gs. *ughaḍtā*) opening; *izAt* (*izzat*) respect; *kẽsAr* (*keśara-*) saffron; *kAṣṭī* (*kaṣṭin-*) sufferer; *kAruṁk* (*kar-*) to do; *kAdī̃* (M. *kadhī*), *gAṁv* (s. gs. *gavu*) wheet; the suffix *-gAt* (*-gati-*); *ghāgAr* (*ghaggara-*); *ghAḍiyāl* (*ghaṭī-*) a clock; *čAvīs* (*catur-*) twentyfour; *ǰhAr* (*kṣar-*) cascade; *ǰhArī* fountain; *zAr* (*jvara-*) fever; *ǰāgAr* (*jāgara-*) wakefulness; *zàbAr* (besides *zàbàr,* see above); *čAḍ* (s. gs. *čaḍa*) much; *ṭhAkī* (cf. NIA *ṭhakk-*) injurious; *ṇAy* (*navaṭi-*) ninety; *tikAḍčo* (*-kaḍe-*) of that side; *tArī* (but *tàr*) even; *tArkuṁk* (*tark-*) to wrangle; *dhukAr*

23. The normally expected form is *bAśī.*
24. v. l. for *mAnīs.*

(*sūkara-*) pig; *DudsāgAr* (*-sāgara-*); *dhAṁy* (*dádhi-*) curds; *nÁṃgAr* (s. *nāṃgara*) anchor; *nAd* (*nadī*) river; *nhAṃy* river; *pàṇAs* (*panasa-*) jack; *pàrvAt* (*párvata-*) mountain: *bhArtī* (s. *bharti*, Sk. *bhar-*) full tide, *bArī* (but *bàro*) good; *bhitAr* (s. *bhittari*) inside; *bAttīs* (s. gs. *battīsa*) thirtytwo; *bhAv* (*bahu-*) much; *mhārAg* (s. *mhāragu, mhāragi*) dear, costly; *lAgn* (*lagná-*) time; juncture; suffixes *-vAṁt* (*-vant-*), *vAt* (*-vati-*); *vAst* (*vastu-*) thing; *sAr* (*sadṛkṣa-*) comparable; *śĕbhAr* (s. *śaṁbhari*) a hundred; *sàrAp* (*sarpà-*) snake; *sàtAr* (*saptatí-*: Ap. *sattari*) seventy; *sàmArpūṁk* (*samarp-*) to offer; *hikAḍco* (*-kaḍe-*) of this side.

§ 41. Two things are clear from the examples cited above: PIA and MIA *a* has divided itself into two connected phonemes *à* and *A*, and PIA *ā* has come down as *ā* in accented syllables in gx. in such places where it is retained in the other dialects of Konkaṇī.

§ 42. Alternation of *à* and *A* in gx. — The play of these two vowels in morphology may be differentiated into two categories: gender and number.

(a) Gender: —

masc. or fem.	neut.
bhirAmḍ	*bhiràmḍ*
zāṁbAl	*zāṁbàl*
pàṇAs	*pàṇàs*
curAn	*curàn*
bheṁdAs	*bheṁdàs*
kēsAr	*kēsàr*
māṭAv	*māṭàv*
bheṁdAr	*bheṁdàr*
kàrmAl	*kàrmàl*
õvAl	*õvàl*
kegAd	*kegàd*
kàlAṁ	*kàlàm*
dhukAr	*dhukàr*
màzAr	*màzàr*

ànAn	*ànàn*
kāṁdAv	*kāṁdàv*
sàkAṭ m.	*sàkàt*
mAv	*màv*
suṁdAr	*suṁdàr*
mhārAg	*mhāràg*
nibAr	*nibàr*
zAṇ	*zàṇ*
zAḍ	*zàḍ*
thAṁḍ	*thàṁḍ*
cAḍ	*càḍ*

(β). Number:—

sing.	plur.
fatAr	*fatàr*
māṁṭAv	*māṁṭàv*
nāṁgAr	*nāṁgàr*
pàṇAs	*pàṇàs*
vāṁdAr	*vāṁdàr*
cAḍ	*càḍ*

In fact, for every example quoted in (α) above we have the plural with *à* instead of *A*. Further, in inflection, the oblique form is obtained by the change of *A* into *à*.

(γ). Alternation in the presence of *i* or *u* in the neighbouring syllable: *pAṁcvīs* (*páñca-viṁśati-*) twenty-five: *pàṁdrā* (*páñcadaśa-*) fifteen; *khArḍī*: *khàrdo; mAḍkī*: *màḍko*; *tAklī*: *tàklo*; *pAnsūl*: *pànAs*; *pfAḍkūl*: *pfàḍ; kAdūl; bàrā-bArā; mhAṇūn*: *mhàṇje*, etc.

§ 43. We are now in a position to formulate the general rule so far as gx. is concerned: MIA *a* becomes *A* or *à* in gx. depending upon whether MIA *a* was originally followed by an *i* or *u*, or not.

Case (α). MIA masculine nouns ending in *a.* in inflection end in *-u* in the Apabhraṁśa stage in the nominative singular, and this final *u* is lost in gx; similarly the feminine nouns end in either *-i* or *-u* which is lost in gx.; again neuters end

in *-am;* thus *māṭAv*, masc. is derived from Sk. *maṇṭapaḥ*, MIA *maṇṭavo*: Ap. *maṇṭavu* or **māṭavu;* similarly the neut. *māṭàv* is from MIA. **maaṇṭapam*: Ap. **māṭavam*, the play of *à* and *A* following the rule formulated above. Of the feminine forms of adjectives like *sundAr, nibAr, zAḍ.* etc. as opposed to the *à* forms of the same in neutre, it is enough to compare them with corresponding s. gs. forms *sundari, nibbari, jaḍi*, etc. deriving from MIA forms in *-ī*.

Case (β). gx *fātAr*, sing. is from Sk. *prastaraḥ*: MIA *pattharo*, Ap. *pattharu*, a stone; the plural *fātàr* is from Sk. *prastarāḥ* MIA *pattharā*, and hence the *à*. This can be verified in the case of every example quoted in the previous section.

In § 42 (γ) we see this play of the two vowels in the actual presence of *i* or *u* in the neighbouring syllables. In this respect there is no difference between these phonemes and the *o*-phonemes of s. gs. etc. and it is difficult to understand the reason for the retention of special symbols when both in actual pronunciation and the behaviour in morphology, etc. they are alike[25] That mistakes are committed even by writers who follow this transcription is evident from only two of the many examples that one may pick up from such writings: on page 144 of *Elementos Gramaticais*, we find the form *dhônī*, which should really be *dhAni* according to the orthography suggested by the author, since the word is derived from Sk. *dhanin-;* the other form in question is *gàro*, which should be *goro*, as deriving from Sk **gaurá-ka-*: MIA **gorao* white. In these circumstances the retention of such special symbols is redundant and smacks of etymology wrongly applied; speech sounds should be represented as correctly as possible, and I have tried to find a justification for these symbols, but after hearing the Christian commu-

25. Cf. V. J. Janin Rangel, *Gramática da Lingua Concani*, Bastorá, 1933, p. 2, § 5: "Em concani não se utiliza presentemente o som de fechado vacilando entre *a* e *o*, como nas linguas sanscrita e marata." Thus on the one hand some scholars advocate symbols for special sounds the existence of which on the other hand is completely denied by others.

nity of Goa speak, and after many trials with the examples in the previous sections with different persons for a phonetic evaluation, I cannot countenance this innovation mainly on the basis of etymology. In the dictionaries of FURTADO MIA or Dravidian *a* is regularly represented as either an *o* or and *ā*.[26]

§ 44. In x. also there is a regular tendency to pronounce the MIA *a* as a vivṛta as in Dravidian, and it is thus often confused with *ā* of which it is the short variety. Where there is no such confusion it is nearly always pronounced as *o*. Thus, following the system of FURTADO's dictionaries, every MIA *a* is either *à* or *ā* in x. (where *à* is equal to *ŏ*). A few examples of confusion between MIA *a* and *o* in x. may be quoted here: x. *koḷo*, s. gs. *kaḷo*, gx. *kàḷo; kobu*, s. gs. *kabbu*, Can. *kabbu;* x. *goroz*, gx. *gàràj;* etc. where an original *a* is represented as x. *o*. Thus here too we find that in spite of different symbols used for the *a-* phoneme, there is confusion rampant in representation of words.

§ 45. In nx. a similar state of affairs exists. Mgr. DALGADO uses the etymological Devanāgarī symbol, though in his *Observations* he says that it is approximate to short, close *o*, dropped in many cases, but close in feminine nouns and open in neutre nouns. This corresponds to what we have seen in gx. which should be taken as the standard for all x. dialects except in syntax and vocabulary (so far as direct borrowings from Portuguese are concerned). In addition to these different kinds of the *-a-* phoneme Canon J. de S. RITA E SOUZA mentions the mute *a*, which is glided over in pronunciation with reference to the rhythm of words.

§ 46. In s. and gs. the state of affairs is slightly different. Here PIA and MIA *a* has regulary come down as *a*, except when affected by the law of labialisation. The case of *phāttoru*: *phāttara* has already been discussed. Similar to this, we have the forms *vača*: *vocūka, martā*: *morūka, kartā*: *korcẽ* (through **kor^{u}cẽ*).

26. For MIA *a*>gx. *ā*, see, § 26 ∝) ii.

A slightly variant case of the above may seen in the dual pronunciation of such words like *vata: vota; vhakkala vhokkala vharetu: vhoretu;* etc. The presence of the bilabial *v* in the syllable explains the labialisation in these cases.

§ 47. We are now in a position to formulate the general behaviour of PIA and MIA *a* in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī. In the Christian dialects it is labialised throughout, except when it is represented as *ā*, as shown in many gx. words. In the Hindu dialects the labialisation takes palce only in the presence of labial elements, and in g. the penultimate *-a-* becomes *-à-*, and the final *-a* of verbal forms in dissyllabic words also becomes *-à*. We have also seen that these altered vowels (short and long, open as well as close, the last depending upon the following vowel) play the same rôle in morphology as the neutral vowel *a*. I have therefore not deemed it necessary in the following section to differentiate the two phonemes *à*, *A* and *o*, *õ*. The latter will represent all the varieties, as it is futile in view of the discussion above to keep to separate symbols merely on the basis of etymology.

E. Prakrit Vowels in Contact

§ 48. As a result of the loss of itervocalic single consonants in MIA we find vowels coming into contact in the Prakrit languages without coalescing; but even here, at times, certain consonants have been inserted to break the hiatus; the most common of these, called by German scholars "hiatus-tilgers" are *y* and *v;* in fact in many Jain Mss. a *laghu-prayatnatarayakāra* has developed. Less common are *r* and *h*, seen in Pāli *atha-r-iva*, etc. There are cases where even *-t-* or *-d-* or *-g-* act as "hiatus–tilgers," but the reason for their existence is more historical than due to a fresh insertion. Now in NI-A. we observe the tendency to eliminate the hiatus in three ways: (i) it conserves the individuality of the vowels by the insertion of *y* or *v;* (ii) it combines them into diphthongs, and (iii) finally it contracts them into a single vowel.

I. Insertion of *y* and *v*.

§ 49. A Insertion of *y*:— *y* replaces

Sk. *k* in s. gs. *kāyaḷo* (*kāka-*).

Sk. *j* in s. gs. *rāyu* (*rā́jan-*).

Sk. *t* in s. gs. *ǰāyi* (*jātī*), *ghāyu* (*ghāta-*), *māyi* (*mātar-*).[27]

Sk. *d* in s. gs. *pāyu* (*pāda-*).

B. Insertion of *v*:— *v* replaces.

Sk. *k* in g. *kāvaḷo* (*kāka-*).

Sk. *g.* in *ǰavaḷã* (*yugala-*).

Sk. *c* in s. gs. *sūva* (*sūci-*).

Sk *t* in „ *māvuḷo* (*mātula-*).

Sk. *j* in „ *rāvu* (*rā́jan-*).

Sk. *d* in „ *pāvu* (*pāda-*).

Sk. *y* in „ *sāvḷi* (*chāyā́*).

Pk. *h* in „ *mevṇo* (*maithuna-*: Pk. *mehuṇa-*), *mhōvu* (*mádhu-*: Pk. *mahu-*).

We note that in some cases both the treatments hold good; in one type the distinction is due to difference in dialects: s. gs. *kāyḷo*, but g. *kāvḷo* (the *-a-* penultimate being slurred over); in the other it is due to difference in meaning: *pāyu* foot, *pāvu* a measure, equal to one fourth seer. In the case of *sūva*, s. gs. *suvvā*, there is a possibility of confusion with the verb *sivvaytā*, since gx. has *sūi*, the expected form.

II. Diphthongs.

§ 50. In the southern and Hindu dialects there are only two diphthongs *ai* and *au;* and since the Christian dialects have the labial *o* (*á* or *A*) for MIA *a*, we have the dipthongs *oi* and *ou;* sometimes also, due to labialisation we have in s. gs. *ou*.

27. Perhaps influenced by Sk. *māmaḥ*.

ai < *a* + *i*: *baisa* (*upaviśa*), *mhaiśi* (*mahiṣī*), etc.—in ns. ngs. *vairi* (*upári*) we have an anticipation of the final *i*.

ai < *a* + *e*: g. *pais* (*pradeśa-*).

au < *a* + *u*: *cau* (*catuḥ-*) in *čauku*, *čauto* (besides *čouto*), *čaudā* or *coudā*, etc.; *mau* or *mou* (*mṛdú-*).

au < *a* + *o*:

oi < *a* + *i*: gx. *voir* (s. gs. *vairi*):

ou < *a* + *u*: s. gs. *mou* (*mṛdú-*), *čouto*, *čoudā*, *ćouttīsa*, etc. (Sk. *catuḥ-*); g. *ċoutis*.

§ 51. If the first vowel is long, the hiatus generally persists, and in most of the dialects a secondary *y* or *v* may be inserted: *māuśi* (*mātṛ-*) *ghāisogo* (*ghāta-śoka-*), *rāuḷāra* (*rājakulāgarā-*), *gāi* or *gāyi* (Pk. *gāvī*, quoted by Patañjali in his Māhābhāṣya), *āitvāru*, *āitāru* (*āditya-*), *pāuṇ* (*pādona-*).

Similarly if the second vowel is long, the hiatus persists: *nhāi* (*nadī*), *gāi* (Pk. *gāvī*); but it must be remembered that in K. all final vowels are short, and the length for this purpose should be estimated from the historical standpoint.

III. Contraction.

(*a*) The first vowel is *a*.

a + *i*, *e*, *u*, *o*.

§ 52. So far as *ai* is concerned, we find in K. forms like *pēṭa* (*Pratiṣṭhā*; Sk. *pratiṣṭhāna-*: M. *paiṭhaṇ*, but Sk. *pratiṣṭhā*: M. *peṭh*); but it is more especially at the end of words that the reduction takes place as in Marāṭhī: *śenvi* (*senāpati-*), the termination for the nom.acc. pl. of Sk. neutre nouns *-āni* > Pr. *āiṁ* K.-*ē*, etc.

Here we must consider the curious case of *-ai-* becoming at times *-a-* in the words *baisa*:– besides the form here mentioned we have in s. *bastā*, *baisūka*, *boscyāka*. As discussed by M. Bloch (*La langue marathe*, § 58) we cannot take

recourse to the theory of contamination with the root *vas-* in view of the double reason of significance as well as Hindi influence for the initial *b-*. It is probable as suggested by him that due to the presence of *s*, the diphthong is reduced in those cases where *s* combines with a following consonant as in *bastā, boscyāka* (for **bascyāka,* labialised). On the other hand we find that in K. *ãiśī* < Sk. *aśīti-*: Pk. *asī* we have diphthongisation.

In the forms s. gs. *kaśśi, taśśi,* etc. from Sk. **kādṛśa-, tādṛśa-* etc: M. *kaisā, taisā* (besides *kasa, tasa*) we have the same phenomenon as above, but quite regularly throughout in all the dialects.

§ 53. The reduction of *au* to *o* takes pace in *čovīs,* (Sk. *catuḥ-*); and to *u* in the absolutive *ūn* (from an older **auni* or **aunu*).

In the final position *-au* is reduced to *o* regularly, irrespective of the length of the initial element of the diphthong:

Sk. *-ako*: Pk. *-ao,* Ap. *-ao, -au*: *āṁbo, āvāḷo, ghoḍo, čaṇo,* etc. (deriving from Sk. *āmraka, āmalaka-, ghoṭaka-caṇaka-,* respectively).

Sk. *-ato*: Pk. *-ao,* Ap. *-au*: *ākho* (*akṣataḥ,* Pa. *akkhato*).

Sk. *-ado*: *pāḍvo* (*pratipada-*).

Sk. *-ayo*: *āsro* (*āśraya-*).

Sk. *-avo*: *pāllo* (*pallava-*).

Sk. *āco*: *pisso* (*piśaca-*).

Pk. *-āo*: nom. fem. pl. of nouns in *-ā*: *māḷo* (Pk. *mālāo*), etc.

a + *a*.

§ 54. —When one of the two vowels is long, the result of the contraction is *ā*.

A. The first *a* is long.

Sk. *-āja-*: *rāuḷār* (*rāja-kula-*), *rāut* (*rājaputra-*).

Sk. *-āta-*: *vārẽ* (*vāta-*).

Sk. *-āda-*: *ārso* (*ādarśa-*), *vāna*[28] (*vādana-*), *sāṇa* (*chādana-*).

Sk. *-āva-*: *divāḷi* (*dīpāvali-*).

Sk. *āgā-*: *rāuḷār, kuḷār* (*-āgāra-*).

B. The second *a* is long.

Sk. *-akā*: *andhār*, s. gs. *kuṁbāru, kāmāru, čāmāru*, etc. (*-a-kāra-*).

Sk. *-avā-*: *upāsu* (*upavāsa-*).

Sk. *-atā-*: *cāri* (**catāri;* for *cattāri* observe the palato-alveolar affricate).

Sk. *-āva-*: *amāvāsyā*: *amāsa*.

In the case of nom. pl. of masc. nouns of K. ending in *-o*, which is *-e* (*ghoḍo*: *ghoḍe* < Sk. *ghotakaḥ*: *ghothakāḥ*), the *-e* is not be traced to the inflected form in Sk. but to the uninflected form, and therefore to *-aka-* and not to *akā* < Sk. *akāḥ*.

§ 55. Both the vowels are short.

When the two vowels were separated in Sk. by *y* (i.e. if the group in Sk. was *-aya-*) the contraction was already accomplished in MIA: cf. Pa. *neti*: Sk. *náyati;* Aś *leṇa*: Sk. *layana-;* Pk. *-ei* (ending of 3rd pers. sing. pres.): Sk. *-ayati*. If they were separated in Sk. by a single non-aspirated surd, this surd was lost in MIA giving rise to *y* (*laghuprayatna-tarayakāraḥ*) in the group *-aya-*, which in its turn gives rise to *-e-* in NIA.

Sk. *-aka-* in the nom. -acc. neut. sg. in *ẽ* (*-akam*), and nom. masc. pl. of enlarged nouns in *-e* (*akāḥ*: *-aka-*): *sūṇẽ* (*śunakam*), *ghoḍe* (*ghotakāḥ*), *āmbe* (*āmrakāḥ*).

Sk. *-aja-* in *neṇa* (*-na-jan* from *jñā*) "do not know."

28. Semi-tatsama with *-n-* instead of *-ṇ-*.

Sk. *-ata* in s. gs. *gello-, me-llo,* x. gx. *gelo, me-lo* (*gatá-, mṛtá-*); *śẽ* (*-śatam*), etc.

Sk. *-ada- in keḷẽ* (*kadalī*), but *bora* (*badara-*), see below.

Sk. *-aga-* in *śeṇa* (*chagaṇa-*).

In the case of K. *bora* we have to go back to MIA **bavara* with insertion of *v* in the place of the lost intervocalic *-d-*, already reduced to *bora* in Deśī: among cognate languages, Marāṭhī and Gujarati, as well as Dravidian attest to this form.

In recent times *aa* is combined in the semi-tatsama s. gs. *ghrāṇa* (*gráhaṇa-*), *agrāra* (*agrahāra-*) *ugrāṇa* (*udgráhaṇa-*), etc. resulting in *ā;* in several cases this *ā* is further reduced to *a* and then lost: *dasro* (for **dasaro* < Sk. *daśaharī*).

(β). The first vowel is *i* or *e*.

§ 56. Examples of *i* or *e* followed by *ā* in Koṅkaṇi are rare, and where they occur, are certainly borrowings from other dialects.

e + *a* > *e*: s. gs. *dēru* (*devara-*), *śẽvo* (*cheda-*);

i + *a* > *e* or *i* in the middle of the word, *ī* (written *i* or *ī* in K.) at the end of the word:

e: *śeṁḍi* (*śikhaṇḍa-*) *śēḷi* (*śītala-*),

ī: *dīsu* (*divasa-*).

— In the final position *ī* is the normal characteristic of the fem. sg., Sk. *-ikā*: Pk. *-iā*: *-ia;* it is enough to say that this is the vowel characterising the fem. forms of all adjectives. Similarly, the neutres like *dhaī, ghī, pāṇī,* are to be explained.

i + *e*:-There are not many examples of this combination; from Sk. *nārikela-*: Pk. *nāri-ela* we have s. gs. *nārɪu* (for **nāraḷu* from possible **nāreḷu*: cf. nx. gx. *nārēḷ*) and x. nx. *nārl* (see § 24). This is generally the treatment in the interior of the word. In the final position there is first the insertion of *y,* with a subsequent, but not necessary, loss of *i*: the

obilque fem. sg. of Pk. *-ie*: K. *-iye, ye*: *mātiye-* or *mēṭye-* from nom. sg. *māṭi*.

e + *i*: in the ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of causative Pk. has *-ei* and K. *-eyi, -ey* or *-ay* with reduction of *ē* to *a*.

i + *u*: in the interior of the word *i* disappears, but in the final position *i* survives with the loss of *-u* developing from *-o*, in the infinitive in *-uṁ-k* <Sk. *-itum*, *u* survives with the loss of *i*; *-duṇo* (Sk. *-dviguṇa-*: Pk. *diuṇa-*); *vāṇi* (*vāṇija-*) from Pk. *vāṇi* (*ỷ*) *u*.

(γ). The first vowel is *u* or *o*.

§ 57. When contraction takes place, it is the timbre of *u* or *o* which determines the resultant.

u+*a*>*o*: *hora* (*vadhū-vara-*), *phoppaḷa* (*pūga-phala-*), *sonāru* (*suvarṇakāra-*), etc.

u + *a* > *u*: *gavu* (*godhūma-*), *dhuttā* (*dhuvati*), *tũ* (Pk. *tumaṁ* < *tuvaṁ*); further all nouns ending in *-u* in K. when not derived from Sk. words ending in *-u* (see §§ 18-20) are from Sk. nouns ending in *-ukā* and similarly the K. neutres in *-ũ* are from Sk. *-ukam*.

u + *o* > *u*: nom. sg. of K. in *-u* < Sk. *-uko*? Pk. *-uo*.

u + *u* > *u*: *uṁbar* (*uḍuṁbára-*);

u + *u* > *o*: in the semi-tatsama *garodar* (*guru-udara*);

u + *i* > : *ũ*: *dhūva* (*duhitṛ-*), *sū* (*sūci*);

o + *a* > *o*: *thoḍē* (*stoka*); gx. *ujo*, s. sg. *ujjo* (*uddyota-*)

o + *i*: either *y* is inserted in the middle of a word, as in *joṇṣi* or is reduced to *o* in *josi*.

Contraction of more than two vowels.

§ 58. Examples of this type are quite rare; we have *ār* (*ajagara-*: Pk. *ayaara-*, *aaara-*), but *āy-lo* or *āilo* for Sk. *āgata-* with the retention of *-ỷ-*. Generally in such cases the

diphthong survives. In the fem. nom. pl. of nouns in *-i*, we have Pk. *-iāo* > K. *-(i)yo*, gx. *-eo*, *-e(ý)o*.

Nasalisation of vowels.

§ 59. In general, when nasals occupy the final position in a word, and contraction takes place between the last two vowels, we have nasalisation: *śẽbhari*, *-śẽ* (*śatam*), *śĩ* (*śītam*), the dimunitives *-rũ* (*-rūpam*) as in *pākhrũ*, *vasrũ*, etc.; the nom. sing. of neutres *-ẽ*, *-ĩ*, *ũ* (Pk. *aaṁ*, *-iaṁ*, *-uaṁ*). But if a nasal is preserved in the preceding syllable nasalisation of the final vowel of K. does not take place usually: thus *pāṇi*, *lōṇi* or *nōṇi*; but a secondary nasalisation may affect them subsequently and we may have *lōṇĩ*.

The genitive ending of the plural in Sk. *-ānām* has become in K. *-ã̃* the *-n-* having lost its proper articulation, which is difficult to explain on the basis of Pk. *-āṇa*; the explanation is to be found in the Apabhraṁśa ending *-āhaṁ*, *-ahaṁ*, on the basis of the singular in *-aha*, reminding us of Vedic *narā̃m* as opposed to *narāṇām*. But in the neut. pl. Sk. *-āni*: Pk. *-āṇi* or more regularly *-āiṁ*, this loss is difficult to explain, unless based on the analogy of the singular forms *-aaṁ*, *-iaṁ*, *-uaṁ* etc.; similarly the instrumental singular Pk. *-eṇaṁ* (Sk. *-ena*) has already become *-ẽ* or *-ĩ* in Apabhraṁśa.[29] It will

29. Sir George Grierson, in his critical review of M. Jules Bloch's *La langue marathe*, JRAS., 1921, p. 260, observes: 'M. Bloch derives *ẽ* from the Sanskrit *-ena* and here I am unable to follow him. I know of hardly any instances in Prakrit where medial *-n-* has been dropped or weakened to a mere nasalisation. The one instance that is generally accepted is the form of the nominative plural neutre (*vaṇāiṁ* for *vanāni*), but the isolation of this fact renders it to me doubtful, and I hesitate to accept the equation as conclusive." On the other hand be suggests that Mar. *-e* < Ap. *-eṁ* < *-ahĩ*, remarking: "It is equally permissible to look upon it as a contraction of the locative termination *-aह्मि* extended to the instrumental, as has occurred in other modern Indian languages." On the genetive termination *-ā* <Ap. *-āhaṁ* he refers to Pischel. § 370 where the Ap. ending is derived from the pronominal termination *-sām* and not *ānām*. Regarding Ap. *-ē -iṁ*:

be apparent that *-n-* in these inflexions has undergone a special development.[30]

§ 60. It will be seen in the section dealing with consonants that a single intervocalic *-m-* has been spirantised and become *-v-*; this nasalisation has then been transferred to the preceding vowel: thus *gãvu*, *nãva* (*grâma-*, *nâman-*); in certain endings also we have this nasalisation: first person sing. and pl. of verbs ends in *-ã̃* and *-õ* or *ũ* (Sk. *-āmi*, *-āmo*).

§ 60a. In the interior of a word there are several treatments of the group: short vowel + nasal + consonant:

In case the consonant is unvoiced we have one of the two following treatments:

1. short vowel + nasal + unvoiced consonant, or

2. long nasal vowel + unvoiced consonant:—

s. *antrāṣṭi* (written *aṁtrāṣṭi* in the Comparative Glossary < Sk. *antara-*), s. *nimbuvo*, gs. *limbiyo* (*nimbu-*), *vaṇṭi*

Sk. *-ena*, BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 143 observes. "A l'instrumental. *puttēna* (*ṁ*) *puttẽ*, *puttiṁ*, la désinence entière peut s'abréger, ce qui est contraire aux règles du prākrit; en outre la nasale perd son occlusion, comme en prākrit dans pl. neut. *-āiṁ*." Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 144: "Étant donné que *puttena* donnait *puttẽ* (et *phalāni*, *phalāiṁ* dès le prākrit) on s'attend ici soit à **puttãṁ*, soit à **puttãã̃*. Ces formes incommodes ont été remplacées par un double génitif. *puttaha* + *ã̃* issu de *-ānaṁ*", and "Déjà en prākrit la nasale de *puttānaṁ* avait débordé sur l'inst. *puttehiṁ* et le locatif *puttesuṁ*."

30. Cf. TURNER: *Gujarati Phonology* in *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 525-26, § 66 (2). "In inflectional suffixes *-n-*, *-n-* became MI anusvāra or a nasalisation of the surrounding vowels. This process is already marked in the Prakrit spellings *-āiṁ-*, *-āṁiṁ-*, *āi* beside *-āni*. In other forms *-ena* (Ap. *-eṁ*), *ānaṁ* *-n-* probably represented anusvāra, but the spelling lagged behind the change of pronunciation." Thus:

"nom. plur. neut. *-ākāni* > G. *-ã̃*.
instr. sing. *-ākena* > Ap. *-aeṁ*, OWR. *-aĩ*, G. *-e*.
gen. plur. *-ākānāṁ* > OWR. G. *-ã̃*.
nom. plur. neut. *ini* > G. *ĩ* in *dahĩ* < *dadhīno*."

For further discussion on this problem refer to the article dealing with intervocalic nasals in the section: History of the Consonants, further down.

(*vṛnta-*), etc.;- s. *čãpẽ* (*campakam*), nx. *ãk* (*aṅka*), etc. In my Comparative Glossary I have not in general indicated this fine distinction due to difficulty in printing; but this is the general rule, that when the vowel is lengthened it becomes an *anunāsika* with the loss of the following nasal only when it precedes an unviced consonant. When, however, the following consonant is voiced, we have the following treatments:

3. short vowel + nasal + voiced consonant. or

4. long nasal vowel + nasal + voiced consonant:—

s. gs. *ãṅga* (*aṅga-*), x. nx. gx. *ãṅgoṇ*, s. gs. *ãṅgaṇa* (*aṅganam*), etc. but s. nx. *ãṅgi* (*aṅgikā*), s. *añjana* (lw. Sk. id), *ambrūta* (*amṛta-*), etc.; thus we have *candru* as opposed to *čãndṇẽ*, *kaṇḍi* as opposed to *kãṇḍūka*.

§ 61. With regard to s. gs. x. etc. there is not that special nasalisation in the case of long vowels followed by an earlier group of consonants the first of which is *r*, or when the group contained a sifflant or an aspirated palatal (see *La langue marathe*, § 69): s. gs. *kāsvau* (M. *kāṁsav* and *kāsav*), *pākḷi* (*M. pāṁkḷī*) etc. But there are some special forms like s. gs. *hāṁtūḷa*, s. *āṁtuḷn*, gx. *āṁtũṇ*, *āṁtũn*, nx. *āṁthuḷṇa*, *āṁtharūṇ*, etc. from Skt. *āstáraṇam*, etc. which should be attributed chiefly to Marāṭhī influence. A study of the southern dialects like s. gs. x. etc. in comparison with other modern Indo-Aryan languages shows that the absence of the nasalisation in these cases is the inherited characteristic, while the retention or presence of the nasal is due to Marāṭhi influence.

§ 62. Inversely Koṅkaṇī, like other Indo-Aryan languages shows a number of words in which denasalisation has taken place. Examples: *māsa* (*māṁsa-*), *vāso* (*vaṁśaka-*), *kāśẽ* (*kāṁsya-*), etc.; similarly in *bhittari* (*abhyantara-*) and in the termination of the 3rd person plural of the present *-ati* (*anti*), etc. the nasal is lost.

§ 63. Before proceeding to give the table of Koṅkaṇī vocalism one aspect of the s. dialect has to be studied. It is the general law in Indo-Aryan that the PIA. group vowel +

conjunct or double consonant has reduced itself in NIA. to either.

1. long vowel + single consonant (after assimilation in MIA. stage, and reduction with compensatory lengthening of the vowels, if short before), or

2. short vowel + double consonant (after assimilation in MIA, and retention of the group with reduction of the vowel, if long before). Thus we have *nāgḍo* (*naggá-*: Pk. *nagga-*), *rāti* (*rātrī*: Pk. *ratti-*) etc. Now Panjabi preserves the double consonant generally as well as the etymological quantity, as in *rāt* (*rātrī*) and *ratt* (*rakta*); Sindhi preserves the etymological quantity of the vowel, as in *rāt*^{e} (*rātrī*) and *rat*^{u} (*rakta-*).[31]

Now in s. we have such forms as *mātti* (*mṛttikā*), *phāttoru* (*prastará-*) etc. where the cognate dialects like g. gx. etc. give us *māti*, *fātAr*, etc. As against these we have in s. forms like *rāti* (*rātrī*); it is indeed difficult to explain this opposition. A study of s. shows that in the case of inherited words the double consonant is retained, but after it has already been lost elsewhere, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; in this way only can be explained the group long vowel + double consonant. It is also interesting to observe here that where Panjabi and Sindhi differentiate between the forms *rāt* and *rat*(*t*), coming respectively from Sk. *rātrī* and *rakta-*, s. gives for the latter the word *ragata*, which is a semi-tatsama loan word.

Examples.

-kh(*h*)*-*: s. gs. *khākko*, nx. *kākh* or *khāk* x. *kāk* (Sk. *kākṣa-*, *kakṣa-*) the arm-pit; s. gs. *pākkā* wings as opposed to the sing. form *pāka* (*pakṣá-*); *lākkeka* as opposed to *lāka lākṣā*) lac; similarly s. gs. *rākkūḍa*: gx. x. nx. *rākuḍ* (*lakuṭa-*) faggot, etc.

31. *L'indo-aryen*, p. 39.

gg(h): s. gs. *māggiri*, x. gx. nx. *mā̃giri*, *māgir* (Sk. *mārga-*); but *mūgu* (*mudgá-*) green gram; *lāggi*, x. nx. *lāgi* (*lagna-*).

-cc-: s. s. *pā̃cci* aunt.

-jj-: s. gs. *kā̃jjaḷa*, nx. gx. *kā̃joḷ* (*kajjala-*) unguent, lamp-black: s. gs. *mā̃jjara*, nx. x. gx. *mā̃jor* (*mārjāra-*) a cat, but *saj̃janu* (*saj-jana-*).

-ṭṭ(h)-: *lāṭṭūka*, nx. *lāṭuṁk* to roll a pastry (*yaṣṭi-*: Pā-Pk. *laṭṭhi-*) but *phāṭi* (*pṛṣṭhá-*) the back, *āṭa* (*aṣṭa-*) eight.

-ḍḍ(h)-: *gāḍḍava*, x. *gāḍāu*, gx. *gāḍũ*, nx. *gādhũ* (*gardabhá-*) an ass; *māḍḍo*, x. nx. *māḍ* the cocoa-nut tree; *māḍḍi*, x. nx. *māḍi* a kind of edible root; but s. gs. x. *hāḍa*, nx. gx. *hāḍ* (Sk. lex. *haḍḍa-*) bone.

-tt(h)-: s.gs. *māttẽ*, nx.*māthẽ*, x. gx. *mātẽ* (*mastakaṁ*) the head; s. gs. *mātti*, x. nx. gx. *māti* (*mṛttkā*) mud, dust; *sāttẽ*, x. gx. nx. *sātẽ* (*chattra-kaṁ*) an umbrella, a parasol;—but s. gs. *sāta* (*saptá-*) seven, s. gs. *hātu*, x. gx. *hāt*, nx. *hāth* (*hásta-*) the hand.

-dd(h)-: s. gs. *sōddūk*, x. nx. gx. *sōduṁk* (*śodhayati*) to seek; *gāddẽ* a field (Kan. *gadde*).

-pp(h)-: s. gs. *āppaṇa*, gx. *āpuṇ* (MIA *appaṇo*) oneself; s. gs. *kāppáḍa* x. gx. nx. *kāpoḍ* (*karpaṭa-*) cloth; *pāppaḍu*, x. nx. gx. *pāpoḍ* (*parpaṭa-*) a fried cake.

-bb(h)-: s. gx. *sābbāri* (*sárva-*) much: *gābbo* (*gárbhaka-*) the core of the plantain trunk as opposd to *gābu* (*gárbha-*) conception. Cf. s. gs. *rābbūka*: *rābatā* (**ramb-*: *lamb-*) to stay.

Of the exceptions in general we may quote examples of the *-n-* and *-m-*:

-n-: s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. *kān* (*kárṇa-*) the ear; s. gs. *pāna* x. gx. nx. *pān* (*parṇá-*) a leaf; s. gs. *māna* (*mányā*) the nape of the neck;-but s. gs. *sonnāru*, x. gx. nx. *sonār* (*suvarṇa-kāra*) a goldsmith.

-m-: *kāma*, x. gx. nx. *kām* (*kárman-*) act, deed, occupation.

There is again the case of s. gs. preserving the group short vowel + double consonant (both of MIA stage, and later on this analogy) where the other cognate K. dialects show the group short vowel + single consonant:

-kk-: s. gs. *dhakko*, gs. *dhokko*: x. nx. gx. *dhoko* (Sk. dhātupāṭha: *dhakkayati* annihilates: B. O. H. P. L. M. *dhakkā*, Sdh. *dhaku*, G. *dhako*, M. *dhakā*, v. s. v. *dhakkā* in TURNER-N.) shock.

-gg-: s. gs. *maggẽ*, but x. *mogẽ* a kind of cucumber; s. gs. *raggaḍ-tā* messages but x. nx. *rogoḍ-tā*.

cc-: s. gs. *vaččūka*, but x. nx. gx. *vočuṁk* (MIA *vaccaï*) to go, move on.

-jj-: s. gs. *ujjo*, x. gx. nx. g. *ujo* (*udyota-*) fire; *sajjanu*, but x. g. *sojon* (*saj-jana-*) a quiet person.

-ṭṭ-: s. gs. *bhaṭṭu*, x. gx. *bhoṭu* (*bhártṛ-*, *bhaṭṭa-*) a priest.

-ḍḍ-: s. gs. *niḍḍala*, x. nx. gx. g. *niḍol* (*lalāṭa-*) the forehead; s. gs. *baḍḍi*, x. gx. *boḍi* (kan. *baḍḍi*) a stick.

-tt-: s. gs. *vattā* (for *vač-tā* through **vač^{a}tā-*), x. gx. *vetā* goes; s. gs. *sattari*, x. nx. *sotōr* (*saptatí-*: Ap. *sattari-*) seventy.

-dd-: s. gs. *muddi*, x. nx. gx. *mudi* (*mudrikā*) a ring.

-pp-: s. gs. *ṭappāla*, nx. *ṭoppāl*, but x. gx. g. *topāl* the post.

-bb-: s. gs. *khabbari*. x. nx. gx. *khobor* news, tidings; *ḍabbo*, x. nx. gx. *ḍobo* (cf. H. N. M. *ḍabbā* < Sk. *dárviḥ*) a small box or casket.

As against the form *māttẽ*, *sāttẽ* quoted above, we should also consider the forms which are apparent exceptions to this gemination like *mūta*, *sūta*. Now *mūta* (*mūtram*) urine, opposed to *māttẽ* (*mastakam*) head, in the same way as *sūta* (*sūtram*) string, is opposed to *sāttẽ* (*chattra-kam*); in

the first case we have dissyllabic words and in the second polysyllabic words in PIA or MIA stage. This fact gives us the clue at least so far as s. and gs. are concerned: when etymologically connected with polysyllabic words in MIA or PIA s. gs. preserve the long vowel and double consonant, but when connected with dissyllabic words the consonant group is reduced. This fact is further strengthened by morphological evidence, for in s. gs. from the nom. sg. form *mūta* we have the oblique forms *mŭttāka, muttāṁtu, mŭttāri,* etc.; similarly from *śīta* rice, we have *śĭttāri, śīttāṁtu,* and from *hātu, hāttāṁtu, hāttānẽ,* etc. The characteristic of all K. dialects is the indecision in the use of the long and short varieties of *i* and *u,* and it is possible in some cases that only the short is pronounced. But the actual pronunciation in s. gs. and the analogy of *hātu*: *hāttāri* justifies the long vowel in the case of *i* and *u.* This treatment, depending on the number of syllables holds good also in the so-called exception *-n-* quoted above: *māna*: *mānneri, kānu*: *kānnāṁtu, pāna*: *pānnāri.* That the *syllabic quantity* in MIA is the cause of this gemination may be proved by the examples *sāṇa*: *sāṇẽri* (*chādana-*) and *śeṇa*: *śeṇācẽ* (*chagana-*).

§ 64. Colouration of vowels in words or word-groups (inflected or otherwise) is a characteristic which Koṅkaṇī shares with Bengali and other NIA dialects. Of the most important are the low of labialisation and the law of palatalisation.

(A) *Law of Labialisation*

In the presence of a labial vowel a preceding vowel is labialised if short. Long vowels remain unaffected as also in general the vowels *i* and *u.* Thus we are left with the vowel *a* for most of these examples.

-a- + *-u-*: *martā* (through **mar^{a}tā*): *morūka* (through **ma^{u}rūka*); *parã* day after tomorrow; *porũ* last year (Sk. *para-*); *phāttaṛu*: *phāttōru.*

Another case of labialisation is the colouration of the vowel through a labial consonant, noticed already in MIA in the case of the development of the *r̥*- vowel. The examples we quoted in § 46 of words in *v*- suffice.

(B) *Law of Palatalisation*

The scope of this law is not so universal as that of labialisation. Here too only a short vowel can be affected: *miri* pepper, black pepper (Sk. *maricaḥ*: Pa. *marico*, Pk. *maria-*, *miria-*, whence Sk. lex *mirikā* f. a particular plant: B. *miri*, H. M. Sdh. *mirī*).

Opposed to this colouration there is also the discolouration of vowels through the principle of dissimilation. In the former case there is an assimilation of the character of the following vowel due probably to anticipation; but in the case of discolouration this anticipation results in dissimilation. Thus we have s. gs. *uṁdūru*, gs. *viṁdūru*, sv. *uṁdir*, g. *huṁdir* x. nx. gx. *uṁdīr* (Sk. *undura-*, *unduru-*, Sk. lex. *undaru-*, *indūra-*) a rat, mouse. The dissimilation has already been carried out in Sanskrit lexicon forms.

§ 65. The examples of Epenthesis and Anaptyxis will be considered towards the end of our study of the history of the consonants. We are now in a position to give the table of Koṅkaṇi vowels with reference to their development from PIA through the MIA stage.

Konkani Vowels

a

§ 66. In the initial syllable.

K. *a* = MIA *a* < PIA *a*, see § 12 A.
= MIA *a* < PIA *r̥*, see § 8.

In the interior of a word K. *a* may represent all PIA or MIA vowels, see § 30.

In the final position in s. gs. K. *a* represents the final *-ā* of feminine nouns of PIA and MIA, see § 19. It may also

represent the final *-a* of neutre nouns of PIA or MIA which remain neutre in s. gs., see § 18 (b).

K. *a* forms diphthongs *ai, au,* with *i, u,* derived from PIA *i, e,* and *u, o,* respectively. § 50.

For K. *a* occurring as *à* or *A* (i.e. in our notation *ŏ* or *ō*) see §§ 32-47.

ā

§ 67. In the initial syllable,

K. *ā* = MIA *ā* < PIA *ā*, or *a* in heavy syllable, see § 26.

= MIA *a* in heavy syllable < PIA *ā*, or *a* in heavy syllable, see § 26.

= MIA *ā*, or *a* in heavy syllable < PIA *ṛ* in heavy syllable, see § 8.

In the non-initial position K. *ā* is the result of a contraction of *ă* + *ă* of the MIA stage, see § 31 (b).

§ 68. Observations on K. *ă*.—K. *a* in the initial position of the word *gavḷi* (*gopālá-*) a cowherd, needs some explanation. In fact we have in MIA form like *gava-* (for *go-* through the oblique *gavā*), which in conjunction with *govāla- govāli-(ṇī), govāli(y)ā,* etc. have given us for K. and other NIA languages the form *gavaḷi* through PIA *gopālin:* MIA *govāḷi *gavāḷi, *gavāli-(ỳa-).*

i

§ 69. In the initial syllable,

K. *i* = MIA *i* < PIA *i*, see §§ 12 B., 27.

= MIA *i* < PIA *ṛ*, see § 9.

In the final position

K. *i* = MIA *-iă*: *māṭṭi* (MIA *mattiā* < PIA *mṛ́ttikā.*

= MIA and PIA *ī* of feminine nouns: s. gs. *naãi* (PIA *nadī́*).

= MIA *-iu*: s. gs. *jâva(y)i* (MIA *jāmātiu* PIA *jāmātṛkaḥ*) son-in-law. We may take this example also under MIA *-ia* from MIA *jāmātia-*.

= MIA and PIA final *-e*: s. gs. *āmmi*, *tummi* (PIA *asmé*, **tuṣmé*:[32] MIA *amhe*, Mg. *asme*, PISCHEL § 419, and *tumhe*, Mg. **tusme*, PISCHEL § 422), see § 16 (g).

In the penultimate position

K. *-i-* = MIA *-i-* < PIA *-i-* or *-ṛ-*.

= MIA *-a-* sporadically, cf. s. gs. *pāṁjirẽ* (PIA, and MIA *pañjara-*) a cage.

Initially in a certain number of cases

K. *i* = PIA *a*: cf. *iṁgḷo* (*aṅgārakaḥ*: late Sk. *iṁgārakaḥ*) a live coal; *niḍḍḷa* (*lalāṭa-*) the forehead.

In the final position K. *-ĩ* also represents MIA *-aï*: *śeṇvī* (MIA *seṇā-vaï-*).

In a certain number of cases K. *-i-* is also the result of *-ya*: *bhijtā* (cf. Sk *abhyakta*, *abhy-àñjate* 3rd pl.) gets wet, *bhittari* (cf. Sk. *abhyakta*, *abhy-añjate* 3rd pl.) gets wet, *bhittari* (cf. Sk. *abhy-antaram*: **abhyantare*) inside, within.

K. *i* in heavy syllable may represent PIA *ī*: s. gs. *bhillo* (Sk. *bhītá-*) was afraid.

Note: Observations on short *i* or *u* of Koṅkaṇī, particularly in the initial syllable, are dependent on the number of syllables in the word; whatever be their origin they are always long in dissyllablic words, see § 27.

32. For the Marāṭhī forms *āmhī*, *tumhī*, TURNER suggests derivation from MIA *amhehi*, *tumhehi*, the plural forms, for explaining the long final vowel, as opposed to the singular forms suggested by BLOCH in *La langue marathe*; cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (*BSOS*), Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 205.

ī

§ 70. In the initial position.

K. ī = MIA *i* in dissyllablic s. gs. words, see §§ 27, 69.
= MIA ī < PIA ī̆ or PIA ī̆̆ + consonant group, see § 25.
= MIA ī < PIA *r̥* + consonant group, see § 9.
= MIA *i* in heavy syllable PIA ī̆̆ + consonant group.

In the final position the quantity of *-i* is indeterminate; some dialects record a long vowel while others do not recognize the long variety at all. Thus the observations in the preceding article regarding final *-i* hold good for final *-ī* in those dialects where a final long vowel is tolerated.

K. ī = PIA *a* sporadically: s. gs. *mīri* (*marica-*) black pepper (see § 64 B.). This case should really go with K. *i*, as shown by other cognate NIA languages, but as already mentioned in § 27 this *i* becomes long in dissyllabic words.

K. ī is also the result of contraction of the MIA group ī̆̆ + ī.

u

§ 71. In the initial position.

K. *u* = MIA *u* < PIA *u* (only in polysyllabic K. words), see § 27.
= MIA *u* < PIA *r̥* (*ibid.*), see § 10.

K. *u* in heavy syllable = MIA ū PIA ū or ū̆ + consonant group or *r̥* + consonant group.

K. *u.* = MIA *o* < PIA. *apa-, ava-*.[33]
= PIA *va*.[1]
= MIA and PIA *i* in the word *būṁdi* (*bindú-*).

33. The examples given by M. Bloch in *La langue marathe* under this head suffice for Koṅkaṇī also.

In the final position.

K. *u* = MIA *o* (Ap. *-u*), see § 18 (a).

As in Marāṭhī K. *u* alternates with *a* in a group of allied words: *phaḍko*: *phuṭ-tā*, *jhar-tā*: *jur-tā* (*kṣar-*), where the difference in form is due to semantic variation.

For K. *u* as a result of contraction from MIA see the following article.

ū

§ 72. In the initial position.

K. u = MIA *u* < PIA *u* or *r̥* (in dissyllabic K. words only).

= MIA *ū* < PIA *ū*.

< PIA *ū* + consonant group, or *r̥* + consonant group.

= MIA *u* in closed syllable.

In the final position its length is indeterminate, but when the stress is on it we have the long vowel as in *Vāsū*: *Vāsu* (shortened form of *Vāsudeva*).

K. *ū* is also a result of contraction of a MIA vowel group whose first element is either *u* or *o*, see § 57; the only example where the final vowel is pronounced long is *tū̃* (MIA *tumaṁ*, *tuvaṁ*), and this also serves for the non-initial case. In the case of K. *dhūva* we have the contraction in the first syllable with the characteristic long vowel. The second element of this MIA group may be any vowel.

e

§ 73. Before discussing the development of this vowel we may again lay stress on the fact already mentioned that barring the case of dissyllabic words of s. gs. the timbre of *e* depends upon the vowel in the following syllable, and besides, the length of these connected phonemes depends on the rhythmic scheme of the word (see § 26).

Initially K. *e* = MIA *e* < (a) PIA *e*: *ēka, beta* (Sk. *vetra-*, Kan. *betta*), *śeta* (*kṣétra-*) etc.

(b) PIA *ai*: *tela* (MIA *tella*: PIA **tailya*, cf. *tailá-*) oil, *mevṇo* (Sk. *maithuna-kaḥ*: MIA *mehuṇa-o*) brother-in-law, etc.

In medial and final positions,

K. *e* < PIA *aya-* (either through *-e-* or *–aya–* of MIA): s. gs. *vaḷẽ, baḷẽ* (*valaya-, *balaya-*); *ullayatā*: g. gx. nx. *uletā* speaks.

PIA *a* (palatalised either in MIA or NIA stage): s.gs. *bēli* (*vallî*); *śeǰārti* (*śayyā*: *sejjā*).

= MIA *e* <PIA *ī*: *khēḷu, kheḷ-tā* (*krīḍ-*: MIA *khel-*) unless MIA *khel-* in unconnected with PIA *krīḍ-*, cf. Sk. *kel-*; *keli* sport.

K. *e* < PIA *-iya-* in s. gs. *nēmu*, x. nx. gx. g. *nēm* (*niya-ma-*).

In the final position

K. *e* < PIA *-aka-*, see § 55.

As a result of contraction of PIA *-aka-, –aga–, aja , –ata-, -ada-*, etc., though MIA. *-a (ẏ) a* we have K. *e*. see § 55.

We have also K. *e* through the contraction of a MIA group of vowels whose first element is either *i* or *e*, see § 56.

o

§ 74. The same observations hold good for *o* as were made in the case of *e*.

Initially K. *o* = MIA *o* < (a) PIA *o*: *soḷā* (*ṣoḍaśá*).

(b) PIA *au*: *mōtī* (*mauktika*) a pearl; *toṁḍa* (**tauṇḍa-*: *tuṇḍa-*) mouth.

(c) PIA *apa*: x. gx. *ota*, s. gs. *vata* (*ātapa-*> **āpata-*> **apata-*> **avata-*).

(d) PIA. *ava*: s. gs. *nōmī* (*navamī*) the ninth day of a lunar fortnight.

K. *o* = MIA *uva* < PIA *upa* in g. x. *oḷkhatā* (*upalakṣ-*).

Non-initially K. *o* < PIA *-uva-* in s. gs. *sonwāru*, x. gx. nx. g. *sonār* (*suvarṇa-kāraḥ*).

Initially *o* alternates with *va*: s. gs. *vallẽ*, x. *olẽ* (*ārdrá*: MIA *alla-*); s. gs. *vata*, *vota*, x. gx. *ota*. We have probably the labialisation first before the disappearance of the initial consonant. Both Father MAFFEI and other scholars agree that in the x. words beginning with *e* or *o* an initial *y* or *v* respectively is heard in pronunciation.

K. *o* = MIA and PIA *a*: s. gs. *čoṁci* (*cañcu-*: H. *cõc*. Guj. *cǒc*, Panj. *cunj*, cf. JAIN, § 28)[34]. The final *i* in s. gs. seems to be due to the feminine gender.

As a result of contraction of MIA vowels in contact, the first of which is either *u* or *o*, we also find K, *o*, see § 57.

In the Christian and Northern Koṅkaṇī dialects, *o* represents besides (as *à* or *A*, see §§ 32-47) MIA *a* (derived from PIA *a* or *ɣ*).

§ 75. Both *e* and *o* in Koṅkaṇī, as we have seen in § 28, show difference in timbre in dissyllabic words through their relationship either with PIA *e* and *o*, or with *aya* and *ava* respectively.

HISTORY OF THE CONSONANTS

§ 76. For the general evolution of NIA consonants through PIA and MIA reference may be made to BLOCH's *La langue marathe*, §§ 14 ff.[35] These principles have been wonderfully clarified by TURNER in his *Gujarati Phonology*.[36]

34. Already in Sk. we have *cañcu-*: *cuñcu-* and in lexicon forms we find *cucundari*, *chucchuṁdara-* a musk-rat.

35. See *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 50-94 for a general discussion of IA consonantism.

36. *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 505-508, §§ 24-38.

These principles may be briefly summarised here. The general evolution of PIA Ap. NIA in general and K. in particular has arisen through progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of these stops resulting in (i) the loss of final stops, (ii) assimilation in consonant groups and (iii) sonorisation and finally loss of intervocalic single stops.[37] These three roughly indicate the probable historic growth; thus Pāli which represents one of the earliest stages of MIA has consistently lost the final consonants, and in general reduced the consonant groups through assimilation to double consonants with a few exceptions which it shares with some dialects of Aśokan inscriptions. But sonorisation or loss of intervocalic stops has not as yet taken place, barring a few exceptions. But in the subsequent history of MIA we find sonorisation in certain dialects with complete loss in some others.

These threefold developments may be treated in four different categories as follows:

(a) Final consonants of PIA > lost in MIA > lost in NIA.

(b) Initial consonants of PIA > remained in MIA > remained in Ap. > remain in NIA.

(c) Intervocalic stops of PIA:—

(1) surd in PIA > sonants in MIA > probably spirant in Ap. (current as a spoken dialect) > zero in K. and NIA.

(2) surd aspirate in PIA > sonant aspirate in MIA or *-h-* in MIA according to the dialect or language concerned > *-h-* in Ap. and NIA by loss of occlusion.

(d) Consonant groups of PIA > double consonants in MIA through the general principle of assimilation > (1) single consonant with compensatory lengthening or (2) double consonant in NIA.

37. The cerebrals are an exception to this rule.

It should be understood at the very outset that these principles do not act in any given language without exceptions or with the precision of scientific laws in a given period. They only express the laws under *favourable conditions*. Thus in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī the dentals seem to have remained after sonorisation long after other consonants had disappeared in the intervocalic position. Closely allied with the dentals, but with greater force, the cerebrals retained their position after sonorisation from MIA to the NIA stage. Thus these laws summarise the tendency in a given language which will ultimately reduce the language to a norm which closely agrees with the form hypothetically arrived at by a rigorous application of these laws.

Under the above limitations and provisions, we can now give a table showing the character of Koṅkaṇī Consonantism.

	Initial or resulting from MIA consonant groups or double consonants				PIA intervocalic consonant	
	unaspir.		aspir.		unaspir.	aspir.
Gutturals	*k*	*g*	*kh*	*gh*	zero	*h*
Palatals[38]	*c*	*j*	*s*[39]	*jh*	zero	
Cerebrals	*ṭ*	*ḍ*	*ṭh*	*ḍh*	*ḍ* (*ḷ*)	*ḍh*
Dentals	*t*	*d*	*th*	*dh*	zero	*h*
Labials	*p*	*b*	*ph*	*bh*	*v*	*h*

So far we have treated only the class consonants or occlusives. The liquids, semivowels, sifflants and the nasals will be treated in their proper places.

§ 77. Initial single consonants in general have come down unchanged with a few exceptions. Thus initial *n-* of

38. These palatals include the dento-alveolar as well as the palato-alveolar affricates, the former of which have been indicated everywhere by the symbols *č* and *ǰ*, *čh* and *ǰh*.

39. This *s* < MIA *ch*, has become identical with *s* < PIA *ś*, *ṣ* or *s*.

PIA has become *ṇ-* in MIA and *n-* again in NIA;[40] initial *y-* has become *j-* in most of the MIA dialects. Apart from these characteristic changes of MIA with regard to initial consonants, there is yet another change having a wider field, that of initial aspiration. There are a number of words in MIA and NIA where an aspirate (initial or non-initial) corresponds to an original PIA unaspirated sound.

Thus under this aspiration we have two cases: initial aspiration and non-initial aspiration.[41] But in the case of Koṅkaṇī the state of affairs is much simpler. Aspirates are not in general tolerated except in the initial position although the orthography used by Mgr. DALGADO or the *Novẽ Gõy* does not take into consideration the actual pronunciation. This being the case, we are left only with initial aspiration.

INITIAL ASPIRATION OF OCCLUSIVES

§ 78. We have two cases of this initial aspiration: (a) this aspiration has already taken place in MIA and (b) it has not yet taken place in MIA but has done so in Koṅkaṇī.

(a) s. gs. *khas-tā, kas-tā* (*kṛṣ-* and MIA *khasaï*) tills; *khas- khastā* (*kas-*, MIA *khasiaṁ* n. a kind of disease);[42] *khoppōru, koppōru,* (*kūrpara*: MIA *koppara* without aspiration, and this should be classed with (b) below) the elbow; *kheḷ-tā* (*krīḍ* MIA *khēlaï, khellaï*) plays; *ǰhāḍa* (*jāṭa*, cf. *jaṭā*: MIA *jhāḍa*, and Sk. lex. *jhāṭa*[43] arbour); *phāttōru* (*prastará-* MIA *patthara-* Ap. **phattaru*) a stone, *pharsā-phāttōru* (Sk. *paraśu-*: MIA *pharasu*) a touch-stone.

40. But see Guj. Phonology, § 48(2), *JRAS*, 1921, p. 516—"it is doubtful whether initial *n-*, became *ṇ-* although so shown in most of the Prakrits," and *La langue marathe*, § 132 (indicated by Prof. TURNER himself in his foot-note 1).

41. For Maraṭhi see BLOCH, *La langue marathe*, § 84 ff.; for Gujarati, TURNER, Guj. Phonology, § 40; for Panjabi, JAIN, § 123 ff., p. 51 ff., For the whole IA field, see *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 59-62.

42. Cf. MIA *khasa-phasemāṇa-* falling, *khasa-phasi-* afflicted.

43. See my Initial *jh-* in Indo-Aryan, § 13, *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, II, p. 104.

There is nothing to add to Bloch's explanation of these forms; this aspiration appears to be connected with *r* or *s* in the ensuing syllable or else with an aspirate in PIA already lost in the Sk. forms.

(b) This class comprises the maor instances of aspiration in Koṅkaṇī. Here the aspiration is directly the result of deaspiration of a following syllable, as no non-initial aspirates are tolerated in all the dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

Examples :

kh : *khāi* (*kásmin* : MIA *kamhi*, Ap. *kahiṁ*) where?; s. gs. *khākko*, gx. *khāk*, *khāk* (*kākṣá-*, *kakṣa-*: MIA *kakkha-* or *kaccha-*) the armpit; s. gs. gx. *khāk-tā* (*kakhati*) coughs; gx. *khoṁkli* cough.

gh-: *ghara* (*gṛhá-*: MIA *ghara-*[44] already, and so under (a) above) house; *ghettā* (*gṛh-*, but c. MIA *ghei*, *gheccham*, *gheppaï*, *ghettūṇa*, etc.).

th: *thāi* (*tásmin*: MIA *tamhi*, Ap. *tahiṁ*); gx. *thāṁgā* there, thither; *thiṁgā* there;—gx. *thōi* there.

dh: *dhāi* (*dádhi-*: MIA *dahi-*) curds; *dhā* (*dáśa*: MIA *daha*) ten; *dhādi* (*dṛḍha-*) power, strength (possibly from *dṛḍha-* strong, firm, through extention to **dṛḍhikā*: *daḍhiā*, cf. Pk. *daḍha-*, *daḍhia-*: **dāḍhiā*).

ph: *phāppud-tā*, gx. *fāfḍuṁk* (*pra-sphuṭ-*: cf. Pk. *pap-phuṭṭaï*, *papphudia-* shakes, tosses, rejects; *phovu* (*pṛthú-*) parched rice; *phāṭi* (*pṛṣṭi-*) the back.

bh: *bhāira* (Pā. *bāhīro* outer, cf. Sk. *bahíḥ* out) outside; *bho* (*bahú-*) much, too much; *bhoḷo* (*bahula-ka-*) credulous, believing.

The number of these examples can easily be multiplied: they will be fully indicated in their proper places in the *Comparative Glossary*.

44. Pa. Pk. *gharam* n. a house is connected with IE **gʷhoro-* fire, heat, hearth, see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, p. 401 ff., and Turner—N. 154. b. 8-9.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the opposite tendency, two examples of initial aspiration where PIA and MIA show only a vowel may be cited here: s. gs. *hūna* (*uṣṇá-*; MIA *uṇha-*) hot; *hūma* (*ūṣmá-*; MIA *umha-*) sweat, perspiration.

§ 79. Just as we have a change from the unaspirated stop to an aspirated stop there is also the change of the original aspirated stop losing its aspiration in Koṅkaṇī. The deaspirating tendency of Koṅkaṇī has been so well-marked that it has even been said that Koṅkaṇī possesses no aspirates at all. But this is an exaggerated view of things belied by an inspection of any of the lexical works published on this Language for all its dialects. Nevertheless the cases of deaspiration are greater than those of aspiration.

Deaspiration

§ 80. Since Koṅkaṇī does not tolerate aspirates except in the initial position, it will be evident that cases of deaspiration may be divided into two classes: (a) initial deaspiration and (b) non-initial deaspiration, of which the last is universal without any exception. Orthographically the aspirates are still shown (cf. Mgr. Dalgado's *Koṅkaṇī Dictionary* or Mr. Valavlikar's writings) but they do not represent the actual state of affairs, and thus sacrifice accuracy by a slavish imitation of the orthography of other NIA languages or a consciousness of the etymological equivalence.

(a) Initial deaspiration:

k- < (*kh-*): s. gs. *kāṁḍ-tā* (*khaṇḍayati*) pounds, breaks into pieces; *kaḷu* besides *khaḷu* (cf. Sk. *khalī*, v. s. v. *khali* in TND.) juice, gravy; ns. ngs. *kiḍki* (Sk. *khaṭakkikā*, s. v. *khirki* in TND.) a window; gx. *kālto*: g. ngs. *khālto* (lw. Ar. *khālī*).

g- < (*gh-*): s. gs. *gacci* thrust, push (cf. Nep. *ghaccā*); *guṭṭu; ghōṭu* swallowing; *gāgrī* (Sk. *gharagharī-*) girdle of small bells worn by women; *guṭukku* (cf. Nep. *ghuṭukka*) with the sound of swallowing; *gurguru* (cf. Nep. *ghurghur*) snarling;- gx. *gāṇ*, ṣ. gs. *ghāṇi* smell (*ghrāṇa-*).

t- < (*th-*): g. gx. *tor*, s. gs. *tharu* manner, way (cf. Nep. *thar* 2. clan, tribe, and Kan. *tara-*); s. gs. *tur-turi* (cf. Nep. *thurthuri*) quickly.

d- < (*dh-*): s. gs. *danda* household or other work (Nep. *dhandā*) trade); *dammu* breath or asthma (cf. Hindi *dam* breath, Nep. *dhamkiko bethā* asthma).

p- < (*ph-*): *pirāṅta* (lw. through Malayalam id. < **phrānta-* <*bhrānta-*) foolish!.

b- < (*bh-*): *bokko* boil (cf. Nep. *phoko* boil); *bāila*, sv. *bhāila* (**bhāirā* <**bhāri(y)ā* <*bhāryā*) a wife, woman.

(b) Non-initial deaspiration:

1° In the final PIA or MIA syllable:

-k < (*-kh*): g. gx. nx. *khāk* arm-pit (*kákṣa-*: *kakkha*); *bhūk* (*bubhukṣā*: *bubhukkhā*); *tīk* (*tīkṣṇá-*: *tikkha-*) sharp, pungent.

-g < (*-gh*): g. gx. nx. *rāg* (*vyāghrá-*: *vaggha-*) a tiger.

ṭ < (*-ṭh*): g. gx. nx. *phāṭ* (*prṣṭhá-*) the back; *sāṭ* (*ṣaṣṭi-*) sixty.

-ḍ < (*-ḍh*): g. gx. nx. *kāḍ* take away (MIA *kaḍḍhaï*); *deḍ* (MIA *diyaḍḍha-*) one and a half.

-t < (*-th*): g. gx. nx. *hāt* (*hásta-*: *hattha-*) the hand.

-d < (*-dh*): g. gx. nx. *dūd* (*dugdhá-*: *duddha-*) milk; *sāṅd* (*sandhi-*) a joint.

-b < (*-bh*): g. gx. nx. *gāb* (*gárbha-*).

2° In the interior of a word:

-k- < (*-kh-*): s. gs. *sākara*, gx. nx. *sākor* (Pā. Pk. *sakkharā*, cf. Sk. *śárkarā*); *vākkaṇa* (*vyākhyāna-*) dictation speech, etc.; *pāk-ḷi* (*páksman-*) eye-lash; *āikatā* (Pā. *ācikkhati*: Pk. *āikkhaï*) listens: *vikray-tā* (*viṣkirate*) spills etc.

-g- < (*-gh-*): s. gs. *jāṅg-sāni* (*jaṅghā–sandhi–*) the groin.

-j- < (*-jh-*): s. gs. *sāṁja* (*sandhyā*) evening; *śijtā* (*sídhyati*) gets boiled, is cooked; *rijtā* (*ṛdhyati*), etc.;— cf. *sam-ja-tā* (in opposition to NIA *samajh-*).

-t- < (*-ṭh-*): s. gs. *mīṭa* (*mṛṣṭá-*) salt; *pīṭa* (*piṣṭá-*) flour made into a dough; these examples, if given for g. gx. nx. would come under the case of final deaspiration.

-ḍ- < (*-ḍh-*): s. gs. *aḍḍeča*, g. gx. nx. *oḍeč* (*ardha-* + **tṛtya-*) two and a half; *sāḍe-* (*sārdha-*) a half over.

-t- < (*-th-*): s. gs. *māttẽ* (*mastakam*) the head; *sāttẽ* (*chatrakam*) a parasol or umbrella.

-d- < (*-dh*): s. gs. *budvaṁtu* (*buddhi-*) clever; *madrāti* (*mádhya-*) midnight; *bādsuytā* (*bādhayati*) affects adversely; *rāṁdapa* (cf. Sk. *randhá-yati* prepares food) cooking.

-p- < (*-ph-*): s. gs. *phoppaḷa* (*pūgaphala-*) areca nut; *āpaḍ-tā* (*ā-spṛṣṭa-*: MIA *apphuṭṭha-, apphuḍa-*) touches.

-b- < (*-bh-*): s. gs. *śaṁbari* (cf. Mar. *śẽbhar*) a hundred.

It will be evident that these examples given above are only selective. In every occurrence of a non-initial aspirate stop in cognate languages, Koṅkaṇī presents the simple unaspirated stop. We might also consider here the loss of the aspiration of *-h-* of MIA both in words as well as inflectional endings: in the numbers (numerals) from 11 to 18 the form *-rasa-* of MIA and *-raha-* of Ap. (Sk. *-daśa-*) is reduced by loss of *-h-* to *-rā*: *ikrā* (*ékādaśa*: Ap. *ekkāraha*) eleven, *bārā* (Ap. *bāraha*), *terā* (Ap. *teraha*), etc. Similarly the oblique forms of the simple (unextended) masculine *-ā* and plur. *-ã* are due to loss of *-h-* in the Ap. ending *-aha* and *-āhaṁ*.

§ 81. In § 75 we have spoken of the four stages or categories in the development of Koṅkaṇī Consonantism, a development which was throughout continuous, but divided in this way to understand the processes at work.

In the first stage of MIA final consonants are lost and consonant groups assimilated, with a few exceptions in groups containing a sibilant or *r*.

In the second stage sonorisation and loss of intervocalic stops take place, *-m-* becomes *-ṽ-* and *-n* becomes *-ṇ-*, etc.

In the third stage double consonants of MIA tend to simplify (except in s. gs.) into a single consonant with compensatory vowel lengthening.

In the fourth stage the loss of final vowels of MIA and certain short vowels between consonants re-establishes the PIA system of final stops (see §§ 15-16).

§ 82. These changes have given rise to the following **Koṅkaṇī Consonant System:**

Occlusives:

Gutturals	*k*	*kh*	*g*	*gh*
Palatals	(see under affricates; Koṅkaṇi does not show real palatals).			
Cerebrals	*ṭ*	*ṭh*	*ḍ*	*ḍh*
Dentals	*t*	*th*	*d*	*dh*
Labials	*p*	*ph*	*b*	*bh*

Affricates:

Palato-alveolar	*c*	*ch*	*j*	*jh*
Dento-alveolar	*ċ*	*ch*	*j*	*jh*

Continuants:

Sibilants	*ś*	*ṣ*	*s*	
Semivivels		*y*	*v*	
Liquids	*r*	*l*	*ḷ*	(*ṛ*)
Breathed	*h*			
Nasals:	*ṇ*	*n*	*m*	

Gutturals

§ 83. The gutturals *k, kh, g, gh* have not changed their articulation from PIA and MIA and are pronounced today as in Sanskrit. In gx. however there are certain words where an *ʃ*-sound has developed for *kh* :

gx. *fiḷi,* s. gs. *khīḷi* a ltch; gx. *fiḷo* a nail s. g. *khiḷo;* gx. *fobōr,* s. gs. *khabbari* news; gx. *forẽ,* s. gs. *khorẽ* a hoe; gx. *foro,* s. gs. *kharo* true; gx. *foroz,* s. gs. *kharju* itches, gx. *fuśāl,* s. gs. *khuśāla* happiness, merriment; gx. *fusī,* s. gs. *khuśi* wish. desire, pleasure.

Palatals

§ 84. The true palatals of OIA do not exist in Koṅkaṇī today. As early as in MIA they were lost when in the intervocal position singly. The double palatal of MIA when intervocal has survived in NIA but everywhere with a sibilant glide, and thus become an affricate. Koṅkaṇī distinguishes two series here: the palato-alveolar and the dento-alveolar affricates. Before the vowels *i, e,* (i.e. close and half-close front vowels) we have the palato-alveolar *c* and *j*; before others the dento-alveolar *č* and *ǰ*; see *Koṅkaṇī Phonemics,* § 15.

Cerebrals

§ 85. The dental series of IE has survived in OIA in two streams: dental and cerebral. The influences at work have been thoroughly discussed by WACKERNAGEL in his *Altindische Grammatik I,* §§ 143-151, pp. 165-177.[45] These factors may be summed up as follows; cerebralisation takes place in OIA of the dental in the presence of *ṣ* (itself cerebralised from *s* in the presence of a preceding *-i-, -u-* or *-ṛ-* or the consonants *-k-* or *-r-* with which it is in combination) or **-ẓ-* (i.e. the

45. See also TURNER: Cerebralisation in Sindhi, *JRAS,* 1924, pp. 555-584; Guj. Phonology, *JRAS,* 1921, pp. 512 ff.; BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen,* pp. 53-59.

sonant of -ṣ-); and also in the presence of *ṛ*, *r* or *l* or the diphthongs *e* or *o*.

The process of Cerebralisation in the presence of *ṛ* or *r* (and incidentally of *l*) has not been regular in OIA; thus besides *kaṭá-* we have *kṛtá-*; similarly we have *vártate*. But in the case of MIA this has been more general: Sk. *vártate*: Pa. 1° *vaṭṭati* turns round; 2° *vattati* happens, takes place. When the liquid *r* is separated from the dental by a vowel, we observe cerebralisation in MIA in certain cases, and to a slight extent in OIA itself; *práthati, -te* : *paṭhati*.[46] But TURNER in his recent review of *L'indo-aryen*[47] offers a very ingenious suggestion which deserves careful consideration, namely that of ablaut not recognised so far in OIA by others in the forms **pṛthama-* (cf. *prathamá-*), and thus reduce most of these examples to cerebralisation in the presence of a *ṛ*-vowel on the analgy of **śṛthira-*: **śrathira-* (cf. √*śrath-*).

CEREBRALISATION

§85A. We shall consider the case of cerebralisation under the following heads :—

1° Preceded at a distance by *r*
2° Preceded immediately by *ṛ*
3° Preceded immediately by *r*
4° Followed immediately by *r*

and 5° (a) Single and intervocalic dentals
(b) Double and intervocalic dentals
(c) Initial dentals

and lastly

6°. *n* and *l*, initial and intervocalic.

§ 86. 1° Preceded at a distance by *r*[48]:

46. WACKERNAGEL, § 146 a), p. 167; BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 56.
47. *BSOS*. Vol. III, Part I, p. 205.
48. Unless we consider the theory of ablaut propounded by TURNER above. The cases considered here the same that TURNER has given in his Cerebralisation in Sindhi, *JRAS* 1924, pp. 558 ff. or with a slight alteration these in his Guj. Phonology, *JRAS* 1921, pp. 512-13.

(a) Cerebralised: s. gs. *pāḍvo* (*prātipada-*); *gāṁṭi* (*granthí-*: MIA *gaṇṭhi-*).

2° Preceded immediately by *ṛ*:

(a) Dental remains: s. gs. *mātti* (*mṛ́ttikā*); *mello* (*mṛtá*); *kellẽ* (*kṛtá-*).

(b) Cerebralised: s. gs. *vāḍi* (*vṛ́ddhi-*); *saḍlu* (**sṛthi-ra-*): *maḍẽ* (*mṛtakam*).

§ 87. 3° Preceded immediately by *r*:

rt: (a) Dental remains: *kātri* (*kártarĭ*); *vāti* (*varti-*)
(b) Cerebralised: s gs. *vāṭa* (*vártman-*); *āṭ-tā* (*ārta-*)

rth: (a) Dental remains: *čoutho* (*caturthá-*)
(b) Cerebralised: ?

rd: (a) Dental remains: *pādu* (*parda-*) a fart.
(b) Cerebralised: s. gs. *gāḍḍava* (*gardabhá-*): *soḍ-tā* (*chard-*: MIA *chaḍḍa-*); *kavḍi* (*kapardikā*) a cowrie.

rdh: (a) Dental remains: gx. *ādo* (*ardha-*) a half.
(b) Cerebralised: *sāḍhe* (*sārdha-*); s. gs. *deḍu* (*dvyardha-*: MIA *diyaḍḍa*); *aḍḍeča* (*ardha-*tṛiya-*); *vāḍ-tā* (*várdhate*).

4° Followed immediately by *r*: Dentals remain:

tr: *tīni* (*tŕ̥ṇi*); *pūtu* (*putrá-*); *sūta* (*sútra-*).
ntr: *āṁta* (*āntrá-*).
dr: *nīda* (*nidrā-*). *muddi* (*mudrikā*) moonlight.
ndr: *naṇad* (*nánāndṛ-*); *čāṁdnẽ* (*candrikā-*).

In this case there is no example of cerebralisation.

§ 88. 5° Single intervocalic dentals: these are all lost in Koṅkaṇī. Examples:

-t-: *māuḷo* (*mātula-*) maternal uncle; *pai* (*páti-*) name-ending in the Gauḍa Sārasvata community.
-d-: *nhãi* (*nadī́*); *mou* (*mṛdú-*); *khā-t-tā* (*khā́dati*).

In the case of the corresponding aspirates the aspiration alone remains with the loss of the occasion:

-th-: *kāṇi* (*kathānikā*); *gū* (*gūthaka-*).

-dh-: *dhãi* (*dádhi-*): *honni* (*vadhū-*).[49]

(b) Double and intervocalic dentals: these, whether of OIA or MIA origin, are in general preserved as single with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowels if short before, and thus we may consider them in the same manner as initial single dentals.

Initial	Double and intervocalic
t-, -tt- *tāmbāḍē* (*vīmra-*); *tūka* (*tukram*); *tisra* (*tisráḥ*) etc.	*pūtu* (*putrá-*: *putta-*) son; *sūta* (*sútram*) string; *sāttē* (*chatraka-*) parasol, etc.
th-, -tth-: *thaṇḍi* (*stabdhi-*) cold; *thēmbo* (*stīmá-*, *stīmyati*) a drop.	gx. g. *māthē* (*mastakam* : *matthakam*) head.
d-, -dd-: *dūda* (*dugdhá-*) milk, dora, *dori* (*dāru*) string, rope; *distā* (*dṛsyate*) is seen, appears.	*muddi* (*mudrikā*) a ring; *dūda* (*dugdhá-*) milk; this example should really come under *-ddh-* as the MIA form is *duddha*.
dh-, -ddh-: *dhanī* (*dhanín-*) a rich man, owner; *dhuvvōru* (*dhūmra-*) smoke, etc.	*buddi* (*buddhi-*) intelligence; *budvaṁtu* (*buddhivant-*) clever, intelligent; *suddi* (*śuddhi-*: Sindhi *sudhi* knowledge, see *JRAS* 25. 568; cf. Kanarese *suddi* news;) news, information.

This conservation of intervocalic double consonants is general, as will be seen later (see §§ 121 ff.) and is not limited to the dentals alone.

§ 89. 6° Initial *n* and *l* have remained unchanged:—

n-: *nhãi* (*nadī*); *nārlu* (*nārikela-*) coroanut; *nevāḷẽ* (*nūpura-* Pk. *nevura-*) a girdle; *nãva* (*nāman-*) name, etc.

l-: *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva; *lāgtā* (*lagna-*) touches, comes into contact; *lāǰa* (*lajjā*) shame, etc.

(b) Intervocal and single: in these cases they have been cerebralised regularly:—

-n-: *śeṇa* (*chagana-*) cow-dung; *sāṇa* (Sk. lex, *śānaḥ*, Sk. *śāṇa-* m. f.) a grinding stone; ns. *gāṇẽ* (*gāyana-*) singing; *ǰaṇa* (*jána-*) people; *vhāṇa* (*upānáh-*) shoes; *nhāṇa* (*snāna-*) bath; *khāṇa* (*khādana-*) food etc.

-l-: *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva; *meḷtā* (*mil-*) meets; *vaḷẽ*, *baḷẽ* (*valaya-*, **balaya-*); *kāḷu* (*kālá-*) time; *vēḷu vélā*) time; *āḷū* (*āluka-*) tubor, potato; *tāḷu* (*tālu-*) palate; *bhoḷo* (*bahulaka-*) simple, etc.

§ 90. When intervocal and double, both these remain dental, and are identical with the same when single and initial.

-nn-: *mãna* (*mányā*) the nape of the neck;

-ll-: *kāli* (*kalya-*: *kalla–*) yesterday; *pāl-ki* (*paryāṅka-*; **palyaṅka-*) a palanquin; *mhāllo* (*mahallaka-*) great, especially the s. gs. word *mhālgaḍo* elderly.

Dentals

§ 91. Dentals have not changed their articulation except in the cases considered above. Their true pronunciation has been indicated in *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, § 12.

Labials

§ 92. There is no change in the modern pronunciation of these in Koṅkaṇī, except where *ph* is concerned; in the Christian dialects generally and in certain Hindu dialects,

e. g. ns., ngs., g., etc. to a certain extent this aspirate is pronounced as a dentolabial fricative *f*, and so indicated in the x-dialects in Roman Transliteration.

Nasals

§ 93. Only three nasals have independent existence, *ṇ*. *n* and *m*; The two others *ṅ* and *ñ* exist only in combination with their class consonants, though in actual orthography only the *anusvāra* is shown.

Initially *ṇ*. *n* and *m* have survived, though Prakrit orthography indicates a supposed change of PIA *n*- to MIA *ṇ*- with a regular throw-back in the case of NIA to *n*- once more. Medially PIA intervocal -*n*- became MIA -*ṇ*- and remained so in the West and North-West but became -*n*- again in the central and eastern group. As opposed to this, on the other hand, MIA -*ṇṇ*- (from whatever source) has become generally *ṇ*. In Koṅkaṇī *ṇ* is a nasalised cerebral spirant as in Gujarāṭī (see Guj. Phon. § 48).

Intervocalic -*m*- has generally become -*ṽ* or-~ -*v*- in Koṅkaṇi.

y

§ 94. PIA *y* has not survived in Koṅkaṇī. Initially it has become *j*: *jōgi* (*yogin*) an ascetic, *jānvẽ* (*yajñopavītá*-) the sacred thread. Intervocally when it was single it was entirely lost without leaving any trace except perhaps in the group -*aya*-. When in combination with other consonants it was assimilated with or without influencing the consonant it followed. In the case of the dentals and *r* it has influenced the resulting assimilation through palatalisation.

But the *y* sound has developed in Koṅkaṇi through MIA as a "*hiatus-tilger*" or as a glide to avoid hiatus when two vowels came into contact through loss of an intervocalic consonant in MIA. Similar to this *y*-glide we have also a *v*-glide (see § 49).

v

§ 95. Koṅkaṇī has preserved, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sindhi, Western Panjābī, Singhalese and Kaśmīrī,[50] initial *v-* as also MIA *-vv-* < PIA *-rv-, -vy-*. Words with *b* are to be regarded as loans from central and eastern languages. In Koṅkaṇī it is pronounced generally as a dento-labial.

In the group dental + *v* Koṅkaṇī has the dental treatment as opposed to Gujaratī. Where the labial treatment is seen we have to consider the words as loans from Gujarātī or, at any rate, from the extended loans in almost all other NIA languages similarly affected.

Liquids

§ 96. The Liquids *r* and *l* of IE have not met a uniform treatment in Sanskrit. As early as the Ṛgveda three dialects differed in this: one distinguished *r* and *l* of IE. The second confused them as *r* while the third confused them as *ḷ*.[51] With the exception of Māgadhī Prakrit, most MIA languages have preserved both *r* and *l*, but they do not always correspond to Sk. *r* and *l*. A few examples of Koṅkaṇī may suffice here to indicate the lack of correspondence.

(a) K. *l* = Sk. r: s. gs. *sābāḷtā* (*saṁ-smarati*), looks after: *nikkaḷtā* comes out, *ukkaḷtā* raises (*niṣkaroti, utkaroti*), but cf. Sk. √*kal-; āllẽ,* (*ārdraka-*) ginger, *vallẽ* wet; *gholtā* (*ghūrṇa-*) drudges.

(b) K. *r* = Sk. *l*: s. gs. *rākkuḍa* (*lakuṭa-*) faggot, firewood, perhaps contaminated with *vṛkṣá-* > *rukkha.*

§ 97. PIA *r* has retained its pronunciation in all positions, but PIA *l*, when single and intervocal has become *-ḷ-* with which we can parallel the change of *-n-* to *-ṇ-*. For its correct pronunciation see *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, § 24.

50. Turner, Guj. Phon. § 50; Bloch *La langue marathe*, § 120; Jain, §§ 41-142.

51. Wackernagel, 1, § 191 ff; Turner, Guj. Phon. § 52; Jain, § 143.

In a certain number of cases Koṅkaṇī hesitates between *n* and *l*, particularly when initial:—s. *loṇcẽ*, gs. *noṇcẽ* (*lavaṇa-*) pickles, s. *nimbuvo*, gs. *limbiyo* (*nimbū*).[52]

So far as I have studied the different dialects of Koṅkaṇi I have not been able to find traces of the retroflex lateral *ṛ*, though the Rev. Father FERNANDES, once Secretary of the Koṅkaṇī Committee, wrote to me giving me examples of this *ṛ*. Until a scientific and phonetic study through instruments is made of these examples, its existence in Koṅkaṇī must remain a surmise only. Its absence, particularly in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī, the two languages most nearly related to Koṅkaṇī, supports so far my own experience with actual examples.

Sibilants

§ 98. In most MIA languages PIA *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* are not distinguished. With the single exception of Māgadhī all MIA languages reduce these three PIA sibilants to *s*, while Māgadhi reduces them to *ś*. In the case of that interesting dialect of the gamblers seen in the play Mṛechakaṭika, the Ms. evidence seems to point out to the interesting treatment: PIA *ṣ*, *s* > *s*, PIA *ś* > *ś*. Koṅkaṇī, however, like Marṭāhī and Gujarātī, does not distinguish etymologically these three PIA sibilants. All become *s* in MIA (with the exception of Māgadhi as mentioned above). This *s* of MIA then becomes s or *ś* according as the following vowel is *ĩ*, *ẽ* or not:—s. gs. *ek-śẽ* (< *śatam*: MIA *sayam*), *śĩ* (*śītam*: MIA *sīyaṁ*), etc.

In the numeral *dáśa*, MIA *dasa*, *s* becomes *h* in Koṅkaṇī s. gs. *dhā* (<**dahā*); this *h* is then lost in the number 11 to 18 (see § 80). In some Persian loan-words, the change *s* to *h* is regularly seen: *hapto* a week, cf. *sāta* seven (<*saptá-*)

§ 99. When the sibilants are in combination with nasals three treatments are distinguished in MIA. These divergences in the development of these groups, *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm* are:—

52. For a similar change in Sk. see WACKERNAGEL, I, § 175, p. 195, where even *-n-* and *-l-* alternate, as in Lex. *tānūra-*: *tālūra-*.

(a) *m* is assimilated after metathesis; Pā. *raṁsi* Sk. *raśmi-;* Amg. *tārisagaṁsi* < **tādṛśaka-smin.*

(b) The sibilant becomes an aspirate, producing the group *hm,* which by metathesis of *h,* becomes *mh;* or else, as in other cases, we may consider an initial change of these groups to **mmh* and then to *mh,* since this is not recognised as an aspirate of *m,* but as a group of *m* and *h.*

(c) The group becomes *pph.*[53]

Of these Koṅkaṇī regularly has the (b) divergence. It is possible, however, to consider in the case of s. gs. *thaĩ* (**tahiṁ*) *khaĩ* (**kahiṁ*) the forms *taṁsi, kaṁsi* for PIA *tásmin, kásmin* with a subsequent change of the sibilant to an aspirate, > **taṁhi, *kaṁhi.* The third treatment is rather a rare one.

The Aspirate

§ 100. The breathed consonant *h* of PIA has remained in Koṅkaṇī in the initial position only; *hātu* (*hastá-*) hand; *haḷadi* (*haridrā*) turmeric. But when non-initial, PIA *h* aspirated the initial consonant and disappeared from its medial position: s. gs. *hāḍtā* brings (*āhṛta-* > MIA *āhaḍa-* > **hāaḍa-* **hāḍa-*); *bho* (*bahú-*) much, many.

In a few loan-words the alternation of *h* and *d* is observed:—s. gs. *dasto* a hand played or dealt in card-play: *hātu.*

Simplification of Double Consonants

§ 101. The simplification of double consonants, the result of MIA assimilation of consonant groups, did not take place uniformly in MIA or generally till a late period. Certain changes in MIA remain inexplicable, such as Pāli *kaṭṭha-* and *kaḍḍhati* < Sk. *kṛṣṭá-*. Pāli *kaḍḍha-* may be derived from **kāḍhya-* < passive of **kāḍha* < **kāṭha* < **kāṭṭha-* < *kṛṣṭá-,* but the assumption does not seem to be justified in

53. Turner, Guj. Phou., § 55.

view of its linguistic complicity. But it throws an interesting light all the same on the absence of uniformity of the process of simplification.

The special treatment of the double consonants in the case of s. has already been studied in § 63. In the case of other dialects the simplication has been attended by compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: g. gx. nx. *hāt, hātāk* as opposed to s. *hātu, hāttāka.*

Initial Consonants

§ 102. Initially all stops remain:

k: s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. g. *kān* (< *karṇá-*) ear; s. gs. *kāma*, x. gx. nx. g. *kām* (*kárman-*) work; *kājjaḷa* (*kajjala-*) lamp black; *kiḍo* (*kīṭaka-*) a worm; *kullo* (*kulyā*) buttock; *keḷē, kēḷī* (*kaddalī*); s. gs. *kōṇu*, x. gx. nx. g. *koṇ* (*ka-*).

kh: s. gs. *khaṇūka*, gx. nx. g. *khoṇuṅk* (*khánati*) to dig; *khāṇa, khāttā*, x. gx. nx. *khātā* (*khādati*) eats; s. gs. *khūru* (*khura-*) hoof.

g: s. gs. *gavḷi* (*gopāla-*, see § 68) cowherd; *gābu*, x. gx. nx. *gāb* (*gárbha-*) embryo; *giḷtā* (*gil-*), swallows; *gūḷi* (*gulikā, guṭikā*) a pill; s. gs. *gello*, x. nx. gx. g. *gelo* (*gata-*); *goro* (*gaurāka-*) fair.

gh: nx. g. gx. *ghaḍ-tā* (*ghaṭate*) happens; *ghāṭu* (*ghaṭṭa-*) ferry; gx. g. *ghī* (*ghṛtá-*) clarified-butter; *ghūvtā* (*ghumāyate*) rolls, turns round; gx. *ghām* sweat (*gharmá-*); *ghoḍo* (*ghoṭaka-*) a horse.

c: s. gs. *čaṇo* (*caṇaka-*) Bengal gram; *čāb-tā* (*carvati*) chews; *cibbaḍa* (*cirbhaṭikā*) musk-melon; *čunno* (*cūrṇa-*) lime; *ceḍo* (*ceṭaka-*) a man-servant; *čōmci* (*cañcu-, cuñcu-*) a beak; *čōru* (*corá-*) thief.

ch: No examples; in this case Koṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī have lost the occlusion, giving us only *s* (or *ś* if the following vowel is *i* or *ē*): *śeṇa* (*chagana-*) cow-dung; *śind^{a}tā* (*chinatti* > **chindati*) cuts.

j: *jaṇa* (*jána-*) person; *jānvē* (*yajñopavītām*) sacred thread; *jīvu* (*jīvá-*) life; *jikªtā* (*ji-*) wins; *juḷatā* (*juḍ-*) agrees; *jūna* (*jūrṇá-*) old, ripe; *jevaṇa*, (*jemana-*) dinner.

jh: s. gs. *jharªtā* (*jharat-*): *jhāṇṭi* (*jhāṭa-*) ruffled hair.

t: s. gs. *taḷẽ* (*taḍāga-*) a lake; *tāḷu* (*tāḷu-*); *tāpª-tā* (*tapyate*) gets hot; *tisro* (*tráyaḥ, tishāḥ* **tisraka-*) third; *tīni* (*tr̥ṇi* > MIA *tiṇṇi*) three; *tīka*, x. nx. gx. g. *tīk* (*tīkṣṇá-*) hot, pungent; gx. nx. g. *tuṭoṁk* (*truṭyate*) to break; *tũ* (*tvám, tuvám* > MIA *tumaṁ*) you, thou; *terā* (*tráyodaśa*) thirteen; *to* (*tad-*) he; s. gs. *toṁḍa* (**tauṇḍa-*) face.

th: Examples of these in PIA are very limited, and are generally of an onomatopoetic nature. s. gs. *thar-thar-tā* (*thara-tharāyate*) trembles, feels giddy; *thū* (*thut*) spit, the sound of spitting, *thaï-thaï* (*thai-thai*) the imitative sound of a musical instrument in dancing.

d: s. gs. *dammu*, x. gx. nx. *dom* (*damayati*) tired breathing *dāṁtu*, x. gx. nx. *dāṁt* (*dánta-*) tooth; *distā* (*dr̥śyate*) is seen. appears; *duk-tā* (*duḥ-kha-*) pains, *dūki* suffering; s. gs. *deḍu*; x. gx. nx. *deḍ* (*dvy-ardha-* > MIA *di-yaḍḍha-*) one and a half; *dora*, *dōri* (*dāru-*) a rope, cord or string; *dōni* (MIA *doṇṇi* < PIA *dváu*) two.

dh: s. gs. *dhani*, x. gx. nx. *dhōni* (*dhanín-*) lord, master; *dhar-tā* (*dharati*) holds, supports, contains; *dhāra*, gx. nx. *dhār* (*dhārā*) sharpness; *dhīṭu* (*dhī-*) strong, able; *dhuvaṇa* (*dhovana-*) washing; *dhūḷi*, x. gx. nx. *dhūḷ* (*dhūli-*) dust; *dhōbi* washerman.

p: ns. gx. nx. g. *paḷªtā* (*palāyate*) runs away, flees s. gs. *paṇasu*, gs. x. *poṇōsu*, gx. nx. g. *poṇōs* (*panasa-*) jack-fruit; s. gs. *pāḷi* (*pāli-*) turn, chance; *pãku* (*pakvá-*) boiled sugar; *pittā*, x. gx. nx. *pītā* (*píbati*) drinks, *pĩṇẽ* drinking; s. gs. *pūtu*, x. nx. gx. g. *pūt* (*putrá-*) a son; *pẽṭa* (*pratiṣṭhā*) market place; s. *pokkaḷa*, x. gx. nx. *pokaḷ* (*puṣkalā-*) empty; *pornẽ* (*paurāṇaka-*) old, ancient.

ph: s. gs. *phaḷa* (*phalá-*) fruit; *phūla*, gx. *pful* (*phulla-*) a flower.

b: ns. ngs. *baḷ^{a}-vaṁtu* (*bala-*) strong; *báṁdūka*, x. gx. nx. g. *bāṁdumk* (*badhnāti* > **bandhati*) to bind; *bī* (*bīja-*) a seed; *bud^{a}vaṁtu*, x. gx. nx. g. *bud-voṁt* (*buddhi-*) clever, learned; *bora*, gx. *bor* (*badara-*) jujube.

bh: s. gs. *bhaṣṭa* (*bhṛṣṭa-*) defiled, polluted; *bhag^{a}tā* (*bhagná-*) wastes away; *bhikāri* a beggar, *bhīka* begging (*bhikṣā*); *bhūi* (*bhúmi-*) earth; *bhŏv^{a}tā* (*bhramati*) wanders.

§ 103. In the case of the cerebral series, the examples found in Sk. and PIA are themselves of a Prakritic nature. Most of them are, besides, of an onomatopoetic nature, found in almost all MIA and NIA languages.

ṭ: s. gs. *ṭāṁko*, a stamped coin, especially in *Rām^{a}-ṭāṁko* (*ṭaṁkaka-*).

ṭh: *ṭhākur* (*ṭhakkura-*) a deity.

ḍ: *ḍora, dora* (*ḍora-*) a string.

ḍh: *ḍhākṇẽ, dhākṇẽ* a lid (< Sk. *ḍhakkaṇa-* m. n. shutting of a door, etc.)

The actual illustrations of the use of these Sk. words are to be found only in lexicons and late compositions. Hence we have to consider these as really examples of MIA rather than of PIA and so leave them out from § 102 above.

Nasals

§ 104. Initial *n-* *m-* remain.

n: s. gs. *navẽ*, x. gx. nx. *novẽ* (*navakam*) new; s. gs. *nali*, x. gx. nx. *nōḷi* (*nalikā*) a reed; s. gs. *nāva*, x. gx. nx. *nāu*, *nāv* (*nāman-*) name; *nāstā* (*náśyati*) gets spoiled (of milk), curdles; s. gs. *niddatā*, x. gx. nx. *nidetā*, sleeps, *nīda*, x. gx. nx. *nīd* (*nidrā*) sleep; *neṇ^{a}tā* does not know (*na* + *jānāti*).

m[54]: s. gs. *mana*, x. gx. nx. *mon* (*mánas-*) mind; s. gs. *māna*, x. gx. *mān* (*mányā*) nape of the neck; *miṭhāi* (*miṣṭa-*) sweetmeat; *mīṭa* (*mṛṣṭá-*) salt; gx. x. nx. g. *mūṭ* (*muṣṭí-*) a handful; *mevᵃṇo* (*maithunaka-*) brother-in-law; *mōgu* (*moha-*) love, attachment.

§ 105. So far as MIA is concerned the Mss. hesitate in the use of initial *ṇ-* and *n-* for PIA *n-*. For TURNER's opinion on NIA *n-* for MIA *ṇ-* see Gujarāti Phonology, § 48.

y, v, r, l

§ 106. Initial *y* > *j*; *v, r, l* remain.

y: *ǰōgi* (*yogin-*) an ascetic; *ǰavḷã* (*yugala-*) twins; *ǰānvẽ* (*yajñopavītá-*) the sacred thread; ns. n. gs; x. nx. gx. *ǰo* (*ya-* relative pronoun; *ǰūī* (*yūthikā*) a creeper; *ǰōḷu-* (*yáva-*) barley, millet.

In the s. word *üvva* (*yūkā*) the initial *y-* seems to have disappeared.

r: s. gs. *ragata* (*rakta-*) blood: *raḍᵃtā* (*raṭate*) cries; *rāyu, rāṇi* (*rājan-, rājñī*); *rittẽ*, x. gx. nx. *ritẽ* (*riktá-*) empty; s. gs. *rūku*, x. gx. nx. *rūk* (*rukṣá-*, cf. *vṛkṣá-*) tree; *rẽva* (*revā*) sand; *roma* (*roman-, loman-*) hair.

l: s. gs. *lāǰa*, x. gx. nx. *lāǰ* (*lajjā*) shame; *lāka*, gx. nx. x. *lāk* (*lākṣā*) lac; *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva; gx. *līnpoṇ* (*līna-*) humility; gx. *lipoṁk* to hide (*lupyáte*); gx. *liuṁk* to write (*likháti*); s. gs. *lepᵃtā* daubs (*lip-*: *lepa-*), *lẽvᵃtā* licks (*limp-*); gx. *lōb* (*lobha-*) avarice, greed.

v: s. gs. *vačūka*, x. gx. nx. g. *vocuṁk* to go (PIA **vṛtyate*: MIA *vaccaï*); *vāti* (*varti*) a wick; s. gs. *vāṭa*, x. gx. nx. *vaṭ* (*vártman-*) way; s. gs. *vīǰu* x. gx. nx. *vīǰ*

54. In the case of s. *māṅgli*, gs. *māṅguli* and of s. gs. *māngo* derived from these in the sense of "*membrumvirile*" initial *m-* of Koṅkaṇī represents Sk. *l-*; cf. Sk. *lāngūla-* n. "*membrum-virile*" whence the extended forms *lāṅgūlikā* > K. *māṅguli*.

(*vidyút-*) lightning; s. gs. *vaki, vōki* (*vam-*) throwing out, vomitting.

Sibilants

§ 107. PIA *ś* and *ṣ* became MIA *s*; *s* remained. Secondarily in Koṅkaṇī MIA *s* has became *ś* in the presence of *ĩ, ẽ*.

ś: s. gs. *soṇṇē* (*śūnyá-*) zero; *śiṅga*, gx. nx. *śiṅg* (*śṛṅga-*) horn; s. gs. *śisāru* (*śīrṣá-*) migraine; *sukkē* (*śúṣka-*) dry; *śelo* (*śévala*); *śeṇḍi* (*śikhaṇḍá-*) tuft of hair.

ṣ: s. gs. *sa* (*ṣáṭ-*) six; *sāṭi* (*ṣaṣṭí-*) sixty; *saṭṭe* (*ṣaṭka-*) the sixth.

s: s. gs. *savo* (<*śapati*)[55] curse; *śivaytā* (*śívyati*) sews; *soro* (*súrā*) intoxicant; *śijᵃtā* (*śidhyati*) gets ready or cooked.

h: s. gs. *hāttu*, x. gx. nx. *hāt* (*hásta-*) hand; *hāstā* (*hasati*) laughs; *hĩgu*, gx. nx, *hĩg* (*hiṅgu-*).

Final Consonants

§ 108. In PIA the only consonants which could remain at the end of a word were the nasals, visarga and the unaspirated breathed stops.[56] But already in MIA these had either disappeared or reformed as *a*-stems: MIA *vijju* < PIA *vidyút*, *kakuha-* < **kakubha-* (*kakúbh-*). The visarga disappeared giving MIA *-o* or *-e* for PIA *-aḥ*.

Final nasals all disappeared with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

Intervocalic Consonants

§ 109. Intervocalic *-k-, -g-, -c-, -j-, -t-, -d-* are lost.

55. In both s. and gs. there is a meaning yielding the sense of "lovingly abusing" with which we should compare Sk. *sapati*: follows, is devoted, honours, serves, loves, caresses.

56. Guj. Phon. § 61.

-k-: s. gs. *kāmāru*, x. gx. nx. *kāmār* (*karmakāra-*) iron-smith; *čāmāru*, x. gx. nx. *čāmār* (*carmakāra-*) hide merchant; s. gs. *kāyḷo*, g. ngs. *kāvḷo* (*kāka-*) a crow; s. gs. *māttẽ* (*mastakam*) head; *sāttẽ* (*chatrakam*) parasol; *-ẽ* (<*-akam*); *-o* (< *-akaḥ*).

-g-: s. gs. *kuḷāra* (*kulāgāra-*); *rāvḷār* (*rāja-kulāgāra*); *śeṇa* (*chagaṇa-*) cow-dung; *lāytā* (*lāgayati*) as opposed to *lāgtā* (< *lagyate, lagna-*).

-c-: gx. g. nx. x. *sūi* (*sūcī-*) a needle; s. gs. *pisso;* gx. x. nx. *pīso* (*piśāca-ka-*) mad.

-j-: *s. gs. rāyu* (*rājan-*); *bī* (*bīja-*) seed; *rāṇī* (**rājᵃnī* < *rājñī*) a queen.

-t-: *bhāu* (*bhrātṛ-*) brother; *māvḷo* (*mātula-*) uncle; *tiḷēl-* (*tila *tailya-*); x. gx. nx. *ākẽ* (*ákṣata-*) absolute, whole, entire; *-śẽ* (*śatam*); *ṣī* (*śītá-*) cold; *śēḷi* (**śītalikā*); *kellẽ* (*kṛtá-*).

-d-: s. gs. *khāṇa* (*khádati*) eatables; *pāuṇ-* (*pādona-*); *vāna* (*vādana,* but as lw. with *-n-* for *–ṇ–*); *sāṇa* (*chādana-*); *mou* (*mṛdú-*) *pāyu, pāvu* (*pāda-*) foot, quarter, a measure.

In the above examples a *-y-* or *-v-* is sometimes found as a result of a tendency to bridge the gulf between the two vowels brought into contact as a result of the loss of the intervocal consonant (see § 49).

§ 110. The aspirates *-kh-, -gh-, -th-, -dh,- –ph–, –bh–* lost their occlusion and became *-h-* in MIA which converged with PIA *-h-* in the later stage.

-gh-: s. gs. *haḷu* < **lahu-* < sk. *laghu.*

-th-: *phōvu* (*pṛthú-*: *puhu–*); *pailo* (**pahilo* < **prathila-*); *ǰūyi* (*yūthikā*) a creeper; *kāṇi* (**kahāni* < *kathānikā*) a story; *gū* (**gūha* < *gūtha-*) dung.

-dh-: *dhãi* (**dahiṁ* < *dádhi-*) curds: s. gs. *honni* (*vadhū*+Dr. *aṇṇi,* cf. Deśī *vahuṇṇī*); *mhōvu* (*mádhu-*) meed.

-ph-: s. gs. *śṭyaḷẽ* tender cocoa-nut (through **śiḥaḷẽ<śrī-phalãka-*& *śiraḥ-phalaka-**).[57]

§ 111 In the case of intervocalic cerebrals it has been pointed out that they are more of MIA than PIA sounds. Whatever be their origin, MIA *-ṭ-*, *-ḍ-* > K. *-ḍ-*; MIA. *-ṭh-*, *-ḍh-* > K. *-ḍh-* > *-ḍ-*.

-ṭ-: s. gs. *kaḍu*, x. nx. gx. *kōḍu* (*kaṭu-*) bitter; s. gs. *vaḍo* (*vaṭaka-*) *vaḍārūku* (*vaṭa-vṛkṣa-*); *maḍẽ* (**maṭakam<mṛtá-*) corpse; *saḍu* (**saṭthila- < *śṛthira-*, cf. Sk. *śithira-*) lose; *kīḍo* (*kīṭa-*) worm; *phōḍi* (*√sphuṭ-*); *moḍ^{a}tā* (*moṭayati*) breaks; *pūḍi* (**puṭikā*, cf. *puṭa-*).

-ḍ-: s. gs. *jaḍu*, x. gx. nx. *jõḍ* (*jaḍa-*) heavy *čūḍi* (*cūḍī*);

-ḍh-: s. gs. *jaḍu* (*jaḍhu-*) stupid.[58] But this is more likely to be from PIA *jaḍa-*

-ṇ-, -n-, -m-

§ 112. The history of *-ṇ-* and *-n-* was dependent on their position in the word.

1° In the body of a word both appeared as MIA *-ṇ-* giving us Koṅkaṇī *-ṇ-*.

-ṇ-: s. gs. *ghāṇi*, x. gx. nx. *ghāṇ* (*ghrāṇa-*) smell; s. gs. *kaṇasu*, x. gx. nx. *koṇōs* (*kaṃśa-*); s. gs. *kaṇu* (*káṇa-*) a grain; *śeṇa* (*chagaṇa-*); s. gs. *aṇvo* (*aṇukaḥ*).

-n-: s. gs. *ūnẽ:* (*ūnaka-*); *kāni* (*kathānikā*); *tān^{a}tā* (*tānayati*); *āṅgaṇa*, x. gx. nx. *aṅgoṇ* (*aṅgana-*) court-yard; *khāṇa* (**khādana-*); *vākkaṇa* (*vyākhyāna-*).

2° In inflexional suffixes *-ṇ-*, *-n-* become an *anusvāra* in MIA or a nasalization of the surrounding vowels.

nom. plur. neut. *-aḷāni* > **-iḷāni* > *-ĩ*: *phaḷĩ* < *phala-kāni* (through **phaḷikāni*).

57. *Archiv Orientální*, vol. IX, No. 1-2, pp. 215-216: Sanskrit *śrī-phala* and "divine fruit".

58. Guj. Phon. 65 Cf. Sk. *jálhu-*.

instrum. sing. *-akena* > Ap. *-aeṁ* > K. *-ẽ*.

gen. plur. *-akānām* < K. *-ā̃*.

nom. plur. neut. *-īni* > *-ĩ* in *dhai* (< **dahĩ* > *dadhĩni*).

For an alternate explanation of Sir George Grierson, see § 59 f. n. 1 above.

§ 113. The history of intervocalic *-m-* also depended on its position in the word.

1° In the body of a word it appears as *-v-*, generally nasalizing the preceding vowel and itself losing the nasalization.

s. gs. *nāva*, x. gx. nx. g. *nā̃v* (*nā̆man-*) name; s. gs. *gā̆u*, x. gx. nx. *gā̃v* (*grā̆ma-*) village; s. gs *jā̆vaï* (*jā̆mātṛ-*); s. gs. *bhõvᵃtā* (*bhramati*) wanders; *bhū̃i* (**bhūvi* < *bhū̆mi-*) the earth; *jā̃vᵃḷā* (*yamala-*) twin.

In a number of cases the nasalisation of *-v-* is lost without affecting the preceding vowel:

s. gs. *bhovvaru, bhōvaru* (*bhramara-*) a bumble-bee; *pā̆čvo* (*pañcamá-*) fifth, and *-vo* (*-makaḥ*) in ordinals from seven onwards; here the analogy of *pā̆čvo* (*pañcamaka-* > **pā̆č-vo*) where the loss of nasalisation of *-v-* occurs through dissimilation, explains the loss in the other cases; s. gs. *gavu*, x. gx. nx. *gōv* (*godhū̆ma-*) wheat; s. gs. *dhūvōrū* (*dhūmrá-*) smoke.

2° In inflexional suffixes *-m-* becomes an *anusvāra* or a nasalization of the surrounding vowels.

1st sing. *-āmi* < K. *-ã̄* (through **-āmi*).

1st plur. *-āmaḥ* > MIA *-āmo* > K. *-ũ̄* in gx. *vortoutāũ* we are, *vortoutālyāũ* we were, etc.

-ch-, -jh-

§ 114. In § 110 we left out the question of the palatal aspirates. From the point of view of IE grammar both these

are not aspirates corresponding to *c* or *j*, but are in reality the result of a combination of a sibilant and a consonant. As such both *-ch-* and *-jh-*, though orthographically indicated as simple sounds, are in fact pronounced as *-cch-* and *-jjh-* respectively, and should, therefore, be treated under the section of consonants in contact. In Mss. however they are shown as simple sounds.

y, v

§ 115. (a) Intervocalic *-y-* was lost.

s. gs. *mōru, mhōru* (*mayūra-*) a peacock;

(b) MIA *-y-* introduced as a hiatus bridge has remained: s. gs. *kāyᵃlo* (*kāka-*) a crow; *rāyu* (*ājan-*) a king.

(c) In the group *-aya-* we have change to *-ẽ-*: *balẽ* (**balaya-*), *vaḷẽ* (*valaya-*) and generally *-ẽ*<**-aiam*<*-akam*.

(d) With the loss of PIA or MIA *-y-* an intervocal *-v-* has developed: s. gs. x. nx. gx. *rāvᵘ* (*rājan-*) in *rāvᵘḷīr*, etc.; gx. *kāvᵃlo* (*kāka-*) a crow; *sāvḷi* (*chāyā*) shadow.

§ 116 (a) Intervocalic *-v-* (whether PIA or MIA) remained: s. gs. *navva*, x. gx. nx. *ṇōv* (*náva-*) nine; s. gs. *ṇavvī*, x. gx. nx. *ṇōi* (*navati-*) ninety; s. gs. *dēvu* (*devāḥ*) a god, gx. nx. x. *dēv*.

(b) In the group *-ava-* the change to *-o-* had already been effected in MIA. Thus PIA *bhávati* > Pā. *bhoti*, Ś. *bhodi*, M. *hoi*, etc. This change is then transmitted to NIA and this *-o-* converges with PIA *-o-*.

-r-, -l-

§ 117. Intervocalic *-r-* remains, but *-l-* becomes *-ḷ-*.

-r-: s. gs. *ghara*, x. gx. nx. *ghor* (MIA *ghara-*) house; s. gs. *kārṇāru* (*karma-kāra-*) iron-smith; *mārᵉtā* (*māraya-ti*) strikes, beats; s. gs. *mājara*, x. gx. nx. *mājor* (*mārjāra-*) a cat; *sūru* (*surā*) intoxicating liquor; *bhōvro* (*bhramaraka-*) a bumble bee.

-l-: s. gs. *māḷo* (MIA *mālāo*) garlands; *tāḷu* (*tálu-*) palate; *kāḷu-* (*kālá*) time; *phaḷa,* x. gx. nx. *foḷ* (*phálam*) fruit; *bhoḷo* (*bahulaka-*) credulous, s. gs. *kaḷ^{a}tā* (√*kal-*) knows; *paḷaytā* (*pralokayati*) sees; *meḷtā* (*melayati*) gets, meets; *ǰaḷtā* (*jválati*) burns.

-ś-, -ṣ-, -s-

§ 118. *-ś-, -ṣ-* and *-s-* of PIA became *-s-* in almost all MIA languages with the exception of Māgadhī, and remain as *-s-* in Koṅkaṇī except when in contact with *i̯, e̯* where they become *-ś-*.

-ś-: s. gs. *pāsu* (*páśa-*) net, loop; *nāsayta* (*nāśáyati*) causes to curdle; s. gs. *lasūṇa,* x. gx. nx. *lōsuṇ* (*laśuna-*) garlic; *pisso,* x. gx. nx. *pīso* (*piśāca-*) but *piśśī*; s. gs. *kósu* (*krośa-*).

-ṣ-: s. gs. *vīṣa* (*víṣa*) poison; *kastā* (*kṛṣáti*) tills; *basavu* (*vṛṣabhá-*) bull; *bhāsa* (*bhāṣā*) language; *varasa* (*varṣa-* > **var^{a}ṣa-*) year.

-s-: s. gs. *kāppūsu,* x. gx. nx. *kāpus* (*karpāsa-*) cotton; *ghāsu* (*grāsa-, ghāsá-*) a mouthful; s. gs. *māsu* (*mása-*) month; *hās^{a}tá* (*hasati*) laughs; *vāsu* (*vāsa-*) habitation; n. gs. *bhās^{a}tā* (*bhásati*) appears; *pasratā* (*pra-sarati*) spreads.

-h-

§ 119. Intervocalic *-h-* of PIA converges with MIA *-h-* from aspirated stops. In Koṅkaṇī an aspirate is not tolerated in the interior of a word; it is either thrown back to the initial syllable or is lost. It can only be seen in learned borrowings in any other position.

1° The aspirate is thrown back on the initial syllable:—

s. gs. *bhāira,* x. gx. nx. *bhāir* (*bāhira-*) outside;

s. gs. *bhō,* x. gx. nx. g. *bhōu* (*bahú-*) much; s. gs. *mhōvu,* x. gx. nx. *mhōu* (*mádhu-*) meed;

x. gx. nx. *ghōu* husband (Ḍhakkī. *goha-*);

s. gs. *dhuvva* (*duhitṛ* + *dhītá-*) daughter.

s. gs. *hāḍᵃtā* (*āhṛta-*: *āhaḍa-*) brings.

2° The aspiration is lost:

s. gs. *kāṇi* (*kathānikā*: *kahāṇiā*) story; *jūyi* (*yūthikā*) a creeper.

Consonants in Contact

§ 120. When two or more consonants came together in PIA. a gradual assimilation affected these groups in MIA, resulting in a system of double consonants (simple and aspirate), or a combination of nasal + consonants. This process has already been realized by the time of Aśoka's inscriptions with certain exceptions in the case of groups containing a sibilant or *r* in some dialects. Now as consonants are characterised by the two processes of implosion and explosion,[59] the *-k-* of *aka* is pronounced as *-a* + k_1 + k_2 + *a-* where k_1 represents implosion and k_2 the explosion characterising *-k-*. The explosive element is dominant only when in combination with a vowel. From this it follows that in a group like vowel + *kt* + vowel, we have vowel + k_1 + [k_2 + t_1] + t_2 + vowel, where k_2 and t_1 cannot exist, since t_1 can only follow a vowel sound and k_2 can be followed only by a vowel; thus vowel + *kt* + vowel > vowel + k_1 + t_2 + vowel. In these groups the explosive consonant absorbed the implosive, and thus *-kt-* > *-tt-* as in s. gs. *mōtī* < PIA *mauktikam* : MIA *mottiaṁ* a pearl. Where both sounds were explosive, that having the greater degree of closure became the dominant, so that in groups like stop + *r* or stop + nasal the resultant was a double stop. In the case of a sibilant, it imparted aspiration to the group while being absorbed.

In a few cases the more open of the two explosive consonants exercised a certain influence in assimilating the more closed one; this was particularly seen when the more

59. These two elements exist only for the stops; for the remaining consonants there is only the explosive element co-existent with the closure, so that in the case of *-n-* or *-s-* or *-r-* we cannot separate the elements *n_1 or *n_2-, etc. Here we should call them explosive consonants only.

open one was *y, s* or *ṣ* or *v* and the more closed or dominant one was a dental. Thus dental + *y* or dental + *s* > double palatal; *kṣ* has become *cch, jjh* or even *ggh*;[60] dental + *v* or *m* > double labial in some dialects (but double dental normally in the others).

In the group *-hy-* or *-ry-* the *y* become *j* and so the dominant consonant. Only in Māgadhī did it remain as *y*.

These double consonants generally remained unchanged for a long time in MIA. In Koṅkaṇī, however, with the exception of s.[61] and to a certain extent gs., the double stops have been simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

The consonants in contact may be divided into a number of cases.

1° Stop + stop [*a*) homorganic; *b*) heterorganic].
2° Groups with a nasal.
3° Groups with *y*.
4° Groups with *r*.
5° Groups with *l*.
6° Groups with *v*.
& 7° Groups with a sibilant.

1° Stop + Stop

§ 121. Homorganic:

-kk-: *cikkaṇa* sticky (*cikkaṇa-*); *cikkōlu* shift above (*cikkala-*) mud.

-gg-: *gugguḷu* (*gúggulu-*) insense.

-cc-: *ūca* (*ucca-*) high; s. gs. *uccāru* (*uccāra-*) pronunciation.

-jj-: s. gs, *lāja*, x. gx. nx. *lāj* (*lajjā*) shame; *kājjaḷa* (*kajjaḷa-*) lamp black; *bhiǰtā* (*bhṛjjáti*).

60. See *JBORS*. XXIII, Part (i), pp. 82-96 on Sanskrit kṣ in Pāli.
61. See § 63 above.

-ṭṭ-: *pāṭu*, *pāṭṭo* (*paṭṭa-*) a strip of cloth, belt. *kāṭa* (*kuṭṭa-*); *bhaṭṭu* (*bhaṭṭa-*).

-ḍḍ-: *uḍ^{a}tā* (*uḍḍayate*) jumps; *hāḍa* (*haḍḍa-*) bone; *āḍa* obstruction (*aḍḍa-*).

-tt-: s. gs. *uttara*, x gx. nx. *utor* (*uttara-*) reply; s. gs. *pāttaḷa*, x. gx. nx. *pātoḷ* (**pattala-*, cf *pattalī-kṛ-*) thin.

-ddh-: s. gs. *bud-vaṁtu* (*buddhi-*°) wise, intelligent;

-pp-: s. gs. *piṁpaḷ* (*pippala-*).

§ 122. Heterorganic: here the first stop is assimilated to the second; thus in the order of the second stop we have:

-ṭk-: MIA. *-kk-* > K. *-kk-* or *-k-*; s. gs. *sakko* the sixth in cards (*ṣaṭka-*).

-tk- > *-kk-*: s. gs. *ukaḷtā* (*ut* + *kal* or *kar-*) lifts.

-dg- > *-gg-*: s. gs. *mūgu* (*mudga-*).

-dgh- > *-ggh-*: *ughaḍ-* (*udghāṭa-*).

-kt- > *-tt-*: s. *bhāta*, x. gx. nx. g. *bhāt* (*bhaktá-*) rice; *mōtī* (*mauktika-*).

-pt- > *-tt-*: s. gs. *sāta*, x. gx. nx. g. *sāt* (*saptá*) seven;

-bd- > *-dd-*: x. gx. nx. *sād* (*śábda-*) noise, sound.

-gdh- > *-ddh-*: s. gs. *dūda*, x. gx. nx. g. *dūd* (*dugdhá-*) milk. In the example of PIA. *dagdhá-*: MIA. *daddha-*, besides PIA. *dahati*: MIA. *dahati*, the cerebralization has survived in Konkaṇi *dāḍel* burnt oil.

-tp- > *-pp-*: s. gs. *ubjatā* < **up^{a}jatā* (*utpadyate*) is born.

-dbh- > *-bbh-*: x. gx. nx. *ubho* (*udbhūta-*, if not < *ūrdhvaka-*).

2° GROUPS WITH A NASAL

§ 123. Stop + nasal:

(a) In the group guttural + *n* or *m* the nasal is assimilated.

-kn- > *-kk-*: s. gs. *mok-ḷo* (**muk-na-*) free.

-gn- > *-gg-*: s. gs. *nāgḍo* (*nagná-* > *nagga-*) naked; *bhāgtá* (*bhagná-*: *bhagga-*) wastes away; x. gx. nx. g. *ūg* (*agní-*) fire; *lāgtā* (*lagná-*: *lagga-*) touches.

-km- > *-kk-*: s. gs. *rŏkka* (*raukma-*) cash [cf. Kanarese *rŏkka-*]

(b) In the group *jñ* the *j* was assimilated; the resulting *ññ* > *ṇ*[62] or *n*: s. gs. *rāṇi* (*rājñī*) a queen; *jānvē* (*yajño-pavītám*) the sacred thread; *āṇa* (*ājñā*) command. The cerebral *ṇ* here can be explained by *svara-bhakti*: *rāṇī* < **rāaṇī* < **rājaṇī* < PIA. *rājñī;* so also *āṇa* < **ā-aṇā* < **ā-jaṇā* < PIA *ājñā*.

(c) *-tn-* > *-tt-*: s. gs. *savati* (*sapátnī*) co-wife. For this word there is also a form in *-kk-* in MIA giving a few NIA forms.[63]

- dn-* > *-dd-*: this change is already realised in PIA *bhinná-* < **bhid-na*, etc; cf. *chinná-*, *ánna-*and MIA *ruṇṇa-* (< *rud-na-*).

(d) *-tm-* > *-pp-* (through* *-tpm-* with the *abhinidhāna* of *p* in the group *-tm-*): s. gs. *āppaṇa*, x. gx. nx. *āpuṇ* (*ātmán-*, *ātmá-naḥ* > MIA *appaṇo*, besides Pā. *attano*).

-dm- > *-mm-*: s. gs. *Pommā* (<Sk. *padma-*) a *nomen proprium*.

§ 124. In the group nasal + stop the several treatments have been discussed in §§ 59-60. Following the strict orthography there suggested, we have:

-ṅk-: s. gs. *aṅko* x. nx. gx. *aṅko-* (*aṅka*) figure, s. gs. *āṅkaḍo* hook s. gs. *kāṅkaṇa*, x. nx. gx. *kāṅkoṇ* (*kankaṇa-*) bracelet; s. gs. *kuṅkūma* x. gx. nx. *kuṅkū* (*kuṅkuma-*)

62. The cerebral *-ṇ-* can also go back to MIA *-ṇ-* already simplified from OMIA *-ṇṇ-*; this is attested to especially in the case of MIA *āṇā* < PIA *ājñā*.

63. *Le Monde Oriental* vol. 26-27, p. 164, f. n. 2.

saffron. The nasal is lost in s. gs. *pālkī* but retained in *palaṅg-pōs*^{u} (a loan-word with *-ṅg-* for *-ṅk-* < *paryaṅka-*, **palyaṅka-*).

-ṅkh-: s. gs. *saṅkāḷi*, x. gx. nx. *sāṅkoḷi* (*śṛṅkhalā*) a chain.

-ṅg-: s. gs. *ãṅga*, x. nx. gx. *ãṅg* (*aṅga-*) body; s. gs. *śiṅga*, x. gx. nx. *śiṅg* (*śṛṅga-*) a horn; s. gs. *ãṅgaṇu*, x. gx. nx. *ãṅgoṇ* (*aṅgaṇa-* < *aṅkaṇa-*) a court-yard; s. gs. *raṅgu*, x. gx. nx. *rŏṅg* (*raṅga-*) colour; s. gs. *čaṅga* (*caṅga-*) good; *bhīṅgāru* (*bhṛṅgāra-*) s. gs. *iṅg*^{a}*ḷo* (*áṅgāra-* : *iṅgāru-*) live coal.

-ṅgh-: s. gs. *jãṅga*, x. gx. nx. *jãṅg* (*jáṅghā*) the thigh.

-ñc-: s. gs. *pãñča*, x. gx. nx. *pãñč* (*páñca-*) five; s. gs. *mãñčo* (*mañcaka-*) a cot; s. gs. *cŏñci* (*cañcu-*) a beak; *vãñč*^{a}*tā* lives, (= defrauds death) [< *vañcayati*].

-ñj-: s. gs. *pãñjirẽ* (*pañjara-*) a cage; s. gs. *mũñji* (*múñja-*) the sacred thread ceremony; *mañjūṭi* (*mañjīṣṭhā*).

-ñjh-: s. gs. *sàñja* (*sandhyā*: MIA. **sañjjhā*, *sañjhā*) evening; x. gx. nx. *vãñj* (*vandhyā* > *MIA.* **vañjhī*) a barren woman.

-ṇṭ-: s. gs. *kāṇto* (*káṇṭaka-*) a thorn; *ghāṇṭa* (*ghaṇṭā*) a bell; *vāṇṭo* (*vaṇṭa-*) a share.

-ṇṭh-: s. gs. *kaṇṭhi* (*kaṇṭhá-*) a necklace, s. gs. *sūṇṭhi* (*śuṇṭhi-*) ginger.

-ṇḍ-: s. gs. *dāṇḍāro* (*daṇḍá-*): *ãṇḍa* (*aṇḍa-*) testicle; *māṇḍ*^{a}*tā* (*maṇḍate*) settles, gets fixed or built up; gs. *bhaṇḍa* (*bhaṇḍa-*) obscene talk.

-nt-: s. gs. *dāntū*, *dàtu*, x. gx. nx. *dānt*, *dãt* (*dánta-*) tooth; *kāntūka*, x. gx. nx. *kāntuṅk* (*krntátu*) grates; s. gs. *ãntā* (*antara-* < *āntra-*) entrails.

-nth-: s gs. *panthu* (*pánthāh*) way, mode of living, doctrine or sect; s. gs. *kanthu* (lex. *kanthā*) an asectic's dress.

-nd-: s. gs. *čãnd^{a}ñẽ* (*candrá-*) moonlight; s. gs. *śinduru* (*sindūra-*) vermilion x. gx. nx. *noṇõnd*, but, s. gs. *naṇada* (*nánāndṛ-*). ns. ngs. *kãndo* (*kanda-*) onion.

-ndr- > MIA *–nd–* which converges with PIA *–nd–*.

-ndh-: s. gs. *khãndu*, x. nx. gx. *khãnd* (*skandhá–*) shoulder; *gãnda* (*gandhá-*) sandal wood; x. gx. nx. *ãndor* (*andhakārā-*) darkness, obscurity; s. gs. *rāndapa* (*rándhayati*).

-ndhr- > MIA *–ndh–* which converges with PIA *–ndh–*.

–mp–: s. gs. *čāpẽ* or *čāmpẽ* (*campaka-*); *lemp^{a}tā* (*līmpati*); x. gx. nx. *sāmpaḍūṁk* (*sampatati*) to find.

–mph–: s. gs. *gumpu* (*gumpha-*, but cf. Kan. *gumpu*) a cluster, bunch, heap, collection.

-mb-: s. gs. *lāmbūka*, x. gx. nx. *lāmbūṁk* (*lamba-*) to hang; *jãmba* (*jambū-*); s. gs. *nimbuvo;* gs. *limbiyo* (*nimbu-*) citron; x. gx. nx. *umbar* (*udumbára-*).

-mbh-: s. gs. *kumbāru* (*kumbhakāraḥ*, but cf. Kan. *kumbāra*) a potter s. gs. *khāmbo* (*skambhá-*) a pillar.

§ 125. Nasal + Nasal.

(a) Double nasals *-ṇṇ-* and *–nn–* are simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel and the resulting nasal is always dental. Here only MIA *-ṇṇ-* and *-nn-* to be considered as examples of double nasal are limited in PIA.

–ṇṇ–: s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. *kān* (*kárṇa-*) ear; s. gs. *pāna*, x. gx. nx. *pān* (*parṇá-*) a leaf. In a few cases *-ṇṇ-* is preserved through borrowing from Kanarese: s. gs. *baṇṇu* colour < MIA *vaṇṇa-* < PIA *várṇa-*.

–nn–: x. gx. nx. *onād* (*annãdya-*) corn.

(b) Double *-mm-* is also mostly of MIA origin and is simplified as above.

-mm-: s. gs. *kāma*, x. gx. nx. *kām* (*kárman-*) work; s. gs. *čāmḍẽ* (*cárman-*) hide, leather.

(c) When the nasals are heterogeneous the first is assimilated to the second.

-mn- > MIA *-nn-* which then converges with PIA *-nn-*.

-nm- > MIA. *-mm-*, which then converges with PIA *-mm-*. In the Sk. word *janman-* which has been accepted as a learned borrowing s. gs. give *janmu*, but gx. g. nx. *jolm* birth.

§ 126. Nasal + semivowel, treated under groups with *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* below.

§ 127. Nasal + sibilant treated under groups with a sibilant below.

GROUPS WITH *y*

§ 128. In the groups stop + *y* where the stops are gutturals, palatals, cerebrals or labials, the *y* is assimilated.

ky: *śiṅki* sling (*śikyà-*)

khy: s. gs. *vākkaṇa*, x. nx. gx. *vākoṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*).

gy: s. gs. *lāgtā* (*lagyate*) sticks, attaches, comes into contact;

ṭy: s. gs. *thuṅṭtā* (*truṭyate*) breaks; *phuṭtā* (*sphuṭyate*) breaks.

ḍy: s. gs. *jāḍu* thick (*jāḍya-*).

py: s. gs. *niptā*, x. gx. nx. *lipoṅk* (*lupya-*) hides;

§ 129. When the stops are dentals they are assimilated first and then as stops they assimilate *y*. Such an intermediate state is seen in Vedic *jyótiṣ* as opposed to √*dyut-*.

Thus *ty* > * *cy* > *cc*; *thy* > * *chy* > *cch*; *dy* > * *jy* > *jj*; *dhy* > * *jhy* > *jjh*.

ty: s. gs. *nāctā* (*nṛtya-*); *addeča*, x. gx. nx. *ōdič* (*ardha-*tṛtya*) two and a half.

dy: s. gs. *vījju* (*vidyút*) lightning; *āji*, x gx. nx. *āj* (*adyá*) today, now;

dhy: s. gs. *śijtā* (*śidhyati*) is finished, boiled; *rijtā* (*ṛdhyati*) soaks, pervades; *sāñja* (*sandhyā*) evening; ns. ngs. *mājār* (*madhya-gṛha*),

§ 130. In the group nasal + *y*, the *y* is assimilated;

ṇy: s. gs. *rānā* (*araṇya-*) forest.

ny: s. gs. *māna* (*manyā*) nape of the neck.

my: s. gs. *sama* (*sāmya-*).

§ 131. In the groups *l*, *v* or sibilant + *y*, the *y* is assimilated.

(a) *ly*: s. gs. *kāli*, x. nx. gx. *kāl* (*kálya-*) yesterday; s. gs. *mola* (*maulya-*) price; x. gx. nx. *tel*. s. gs. *tela* (**tailya-*) oil.

(b) *vy*: x. gx. nx. *vāvr* (*vyāpāra-*) activity, business; s. gs. *vāgu*, x. nx. gx. *vāg* (*vyāghrá-*) tiger.

(c) Sibilant + *y*:

(i) *śy*: s. gs. *nāstā* (*náśyati*) curdles; *disuka*, x. gx. nx. *disuṁk* (*dṛśyáte*) to be seen;

(ii) *ṣy*: fut *-iṣyasi* > MIA *-issihi* > *-śī*.

(iii) *sy*: s. gs. *kāśē* (*kāṁsya-*) bronze;

§ 132. In the groups *ry*, *hy*, *r* and *h* are assimilated and the resulting *yy*, *yyh* become *jj* and *jjh*.

ry: s. gs. *ājjo*, *ājji*, x. gx. nx. *ājo*, *āji* (*árya-*, *ārya-kā*) grand-parent; x. gx. nx. *kāj* (*kāryà-*) act, deed;

yy: s. gs. *śejārti* (*śayyā*);

GROUPS WITH *r*

§ 133. In all groups containing *r* the *r* is assimilated; further in the group *mr* the voiced stop *b* developed between *m* and *r*, so that the resulting group became **mbr* > *mb* and converged with PIA *mb*.

A. *r* is the second element of the group;

kr: s. gs. *cāka*, x. gx. nx. (*cakrá-*) a round slice; *tāka*, x. gx. nx. *tāk* (*takra-*) butter-milk; *vākḍē* (*vakrá-*) crooked, bent.

gr: s. gs. *gāṇṭi* (*granthí-*) knot; *gàvu* (*grāma-*) village, city; s. gs. *jāgi* (*jagrat-*) awake.

ghr: s. gs. *vāgu*, x. gx. nx. *vāg* (*vyāghrá-*) tiger; *ghāṇi* (*ghrāṇa-*) smell.

tr, *dr*, *dhr*, etc., see § 87.

pr: s. gs. *phāṭṭoru* (*prastará-*) stone.

br: Initially s. gs. *bāmmūṇu*, x. gx. nx. *bāmuṇ* (*brāhmaṇa-*).

bhr: Initially *bhāu* (*bhrāṭṛ-*).

mr: s. gs. *āmbo* (*āmra-*) mango; *tāmbē* (*tāmrá-*) copper.

śr: x. gx. nx. *sāsu* (*svaśrū*) mother-in-law.

sr: s. gs. *māuśi* < **māusāsī* < *māṭṛ-svasrikā* maternal aunt.

B. *r* is the first element of the group.

rk: s. gs. *māṁkaḍa*, x. nx. gx. *māṁkōḍ* (*markáṭa-*) a monkey; *sākara*, x. gx. nx. *sākōr* (*śárkarā*) sugar; s. gs. *kākḍi* (*karkaṭa-*).

rg: s. gs. *māgtā* (*mārgatā*) x. gx. nx. *āgoḷ* (*argaḷa-*) a bolt; *gāgri* (*gargarī*).

rgh: s. sg. *mhāraga*, x. gx. nx. *mʰāg* (*mahārgha-*) costly, dear.

rc: s. gs. *kucci* (*kúrca-*).

rj: s. gs. *mājjara-*, x. gx. nx. *mājār* (*mārjára-*) a cat; s. gs. *bhāvaja*, x. gx. nx. *bhāvoj*, *bhāvjai* (*bhraturjāyā*) brother's wife; s. gs. *gujara* (*gurjara-*).

rt, *rth*, *rd*, see § 87.

rp: s. gs. *pippaḍu*, *pāppaḍu*, x. gx. nx *pāpōḷ* (*parpaṭa-*); *kāppaḍa* (*karpaṭa-*), s. gs. *khopporu* (*kūrpara-*) elbow.

rb: x. gx. nx. *dubḷo* (*durbala-*) weak.

rbh: s. gs. *gābu*, x. *gāb* (*gárbha-*) embryo; *cibbaḍa* (*cirbhaṭikā*).

rṇ: s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. *kān* (*kárṇa-*) ear; s. gs. *pāna*, x gx. nx. *pān* (*parṇá-*) leaf; s. gs. *sonnāru* (*suvarṇa-*); *sūna*, (*cūrṇa-*), *čuno* (*cūrṇaka-*); s. gs. *jūna*; x. gx. nx. *jūn* (*jūrṇá-*) old, ripe.

rm: s. gs. *čāmḍẽ* (*cárman-*) hide; *kāma*, x. gx. nx. *kām* (*kárman-*) work; s. gs. *ghāmsāṇi* (*gharmá-*) hot sweat.

ry: see § 132.

rv: In this group the sonant *v* was first reduced to the voiced stop *b* and the resultant then converged with OIA. *rb*: *čabtā* (*carvati*) chews, bites;

rś: s. gs. *pāsa*, x. gx. nx. *pās* (*pārśvá-*) side.

rṣ s. gs. *ghāstā* (*gharṣati*) rubs.

GROUPS WITH *l*

§ 134. *l* + stop or *m*: *l* is assimilated.

lp: s. gs. *kāptā* (√*kalp-*) cuts; s. gs. *kāpṇi*, gs. *kāppaṇi*, x. gx. nx. *kāpōṇ* (*i*) (√*kalp-*) hair-cut.

§ 135. *l* + *y*, *v* or *h*: *y*, *v*, *h* are assimilated.

ly: see § 131.

lv: s. gs. *belpatri* (*bilvá-*).

lh: s. gs. *kollo* (Deś. *kolhuo*) fox.

§ 136. *r* + *l*: see § 133.

l + *l*: s. gs. *pāllo*, x. gx. nx. g. *pālo* (*pallava-*).

GROUPS WITH *v*

§ 137. Stop + *v*:

(a) Guttural, palatal or cerebral stops + *v*: *v* is assimilated.

kv: s. gs. *pikṭā*, *pāṅku* (*pakvá-*).

jv: s. gs. *jaḷṭā* (*jválati*) burns, *jaro* (*jvará-*) fever.

ṭv: gx. nx. *khāṭ* (*khaṭvā*) a bed-stead.

(b) Dental + *v*: The dental becomes assimilated, resulting in double labial.

tv: s. gs. *-paṇa*, x. gx. nx. *pǒṇ* < *-tvana*.

dv: Initially > *d*: s. gs. *dārvaṭē* (*dvāra-*) except in the numeral *dvā-*° which regularly gives *bā-*°;

dhv: ns. gs. nx. *ubho* (*ūrdhvá-*).

(c) *l* + *v*: *v* is assimilated, see § 135.

(d) Sibilant + *v*: *v* is assimilated:

śv: x. gx. nx. *pās* (*pārśvá-*) side.

ṣv: s. gs. *māuśi* (*mātṛṣvasrikā*) mother's sister.

sv: s. *soppana* (*svápna-*).

(e) *v* + *y* or *r* + *v*: *y* and *r* are assimilated see §§ 131, 133.

(f) *h* + *v* > *-bbh-*: s. gs. *jībba*, x. gx. nx. *jīb* (*jihvā*: MIA. *jibbhā*) tongue.

GROUPS WITH A SIBILANT

§ 138. Sibilant + stop becomes double aspirated stop in MIA and the aspiration is lost in Koṅkaṇī.

śc: s. gs. *viccu*, x. gx. nx. *vīṁcu* (*vṛścika-*) scorpion.

śk: s. gs. *sukṭī* (*śuṣká-*) dries; *vikraṅṭā* (*viṣkirati*) scatters, spills.

ṣṭ: s. gs. *āṭa*, x. gx. nx. *āṭ* (*aṣṭaú*) eight. s. gs. *piṭṭi* (*piṣṭá-*), *māṭa* (*mṛṣṭá-*) salt; s. gs. *māṭhā* (*miṣṭā*); gx. nx. *māṭ* (*muṣṭí-*).

ṣṭr: s. gs. *voṇṭe*, *ūṇṭa* (*uṣṭra-*) camel.

ṣṭh: s. gs. *koṭgẽ* (*koṣṭha-*), x gx. nx. *gōṭ(ḥ)* (*goṣṭhá-*) a cow-pen;

sk: s. gs. *khāmbo* (*skambhá-*).

s. gs. *khāndu* (*skandhá-*).

st: s. gs. *hātu* x. gx. nx. (*hásta-*); x. gx. nx. *mātẽ*, s. gs. *māttẽ* (*mastaka-*) head; s. gs. *phāttaru, phattōru*, x. gx. *fātōr* (*prastará-*) stone.. Initially *thoḍẽ* (*stoká-*).

sth: s. gs. *ṭhāṇa* (*sthāna-* > **ṣṭhāṇa-*); *thoru* (*sthavira-*).

sp: Initially: *phāsu* (*sparśá-*).

sph: Initially *phuṭṭūka*, x. gx. nx. g. *phuṭoṁk* (√ *sphuṭ-*).

§ 139. Stop + sibilant;

(∝) *kṣ* > *kkh*:

(i) Initially: *khāru* (*kṣāra-*); s. gs. *khīri* (*kṣīrá-*).

(ii) Medially: s. gs. *khākko* (*kākṣa-, kákṣa-*); x. gx. *ākẽ* (*ákṣata-*) whole, unbroken; *pāka* (*pakṣá-*); s. gs. *śiktā* (*śikṣati*), etc.

(β) *kṣ* > *cch*: s. gs. *mūsu*, x. gx. nx. *māśi* (*mákṣikā* > Amg. *macchiā*).

(γ) *t* or *p* + *s* > *cch*.

(i) *-t* + *s-* > *cch*: s. gs. *māsḷi* (*mátsya-*) fish, *vāsrū* (*vatsá-*).

§ 140. Sibilant + nasal.

(∝) *ṣṇ, sn* > *nh;*

ṣṇ: s. gs. *hūna*, x. gx. nx. *hun* (*uṣṇá-*) heat, hot.

sn: Initially: *nhāttā* (*snāti*).

(β) *śm, ṣm, sm*:

śm: s. gs. *mīśo* (*śmáśru-*, but cf. Kan *mīśe*).

ṣm: s. gs. *hūma* (*ūṣmán-*).

sm:[64]

§ 141. (α) Sibilant + *y*, *r* or *v*: *y*, *r*, *v* are assimilated, see §§ 131, 133, 137.

(β) *r* + sibilant: is assimilated; see § 133.

(γ) *śy*, *ṣy*, *sy*, see § 131.

(∂) *śr*, *ṣr* see § 133; *rś*, *rṣ*, *rs*, see § 133.

(ε) *śv*, *ṣv*, *sv* see § 137.

§ 142. *ḥk*, *ḥkh*, *hp* become respectively *kk*, *kkh*, *pp*.

TABLE OF KONKANI CONSONANTISM

k

§ 143. (a) Initially:

K. *k* < MIA *k-* < PIA *k-*, see § 102.

< MIA *k*, < PIA *kr-*: s. gs. *kōsu* (*króśa-*); s. gs. *kollo* (*kroṣṭṛ́-*).

< MIA *k-* < PIA *kl-*: ?

< MIA *k-* < PIA *kv-*: s. gs. *kaḍo* (*kvath-*).

(b) Medially:

K. *-k-* or *-kk-*. < MIA *-kk-*

< PIA (1) *-*kn-*: s. gs. *mokḷo* (**mukna-*)
(2) *-tk-*: s. gs. *ukkaḷtā* (*ut-kṛ-*)
(3) *-km-*: s. gs. *rŏkka* (*raukma-*)
(4) *-ky-*: see § 128.
(5) *-kr-*: § 133.
(6) *-rk-*: § 133.
(7) *-lk-*: § 134.
(8) *-kl-*: § 134
(9) *-kv-*: s. gs. *piktā* (*pakvá-*)
(10) *-ṭk-*: § 122.

< MIA *-kkh-* (see under *kh* below) by loss of aspiration.

64. In groups like *vismarati* K. shows the *-ss-* treatment: s. gs. *visartā*.

kh

§ 144. (a) Initially:

K. *kh-* < MIA *kh-* < PIA *kh-*
< PIA *kṣ-*, see § 139.
< PIA *kr-*: s. gs. *kheḷu* (√ *krīḍ*
< PIA *khy-*:

(b) Medially:

K. *-kh-* < MIA *-kkh-*:

< PIA (1) *-kṣ-*, § 139.

(2) *-śk-*
(3) *-ṣk-*
(4) *-sk-*
(5) *-khy-*:
(6) *-kṣy-*:
(7) *-skh-*:

g

§ 145. (a) Initially:

K *g-* < MIA *g-* < PIA *g-* § 102.

<PIA *gr-*: s. gs. *gāṁṭi* (*granthí-*) knot: (*gãvu* (*grāma-*) village.

(b) Medially:

K. *-g-* or *-gg-* < MIA *–gg–*:

< PIA (1) *dg-*: s. gs. *mūgu* (*mudgá-*)
(2) *-gṇ*
(3) *-gn-*
(4) *-gy-*: § 129.
(5) *-gr-*, § 133.
(6) *-rg-*, § 133.
(7) *-lg-*:
(8) *-gl-*:
(9) *-ḍg-*:

gh

§ 146. (a) Initially:

K. *gh-* < MIA *gh-* < PIA *gh-*
< PIA *ghr-*: s. gs. *ghāṇi* (*ghrāṇa-*)

(b) Medially:

K. *-g(h)-*, < *-gg(h)-* < MIA *-ggh-*.
< PIA (1) *-dgh-*: s. gs. *ug(h)oḍtā* (*udghaṭ-*)
(2) *-ghn-*:
(3) *-ghr-*, § 133
(4) *-rgh-*, § 133

c

§ 147. (a) Initially:

K. *c-* < MIA *c-* < PIA *c-* § 102.
< PIA *cy-*:
< PIA *ty-*:

(b) Medially:

K. *-cc-* or *-c-* < MIA *-cc-*:
< PIA (1) *-ty-*:
(2) **-tc-* > *-cc-* already in Sk.
(3) *-cy-*
(4) *-rc-*:

ch

§ 148. Initially Koṅkaṇi does not possess *ch*. In this position every MIA *ch-*, whatever its origin, has been regularly changed to *s-* or *ś-* depending upon the following vowel (*s-* with *a̋*, *ű*, *ŏ* and *ś-* with *ĕ* or *ĭ*).

Medially *-ch-* is really *-cch-* even in PIA and MIA, but is reduced in K. to *-s-* or *-ś-*.

j

§ 149. (a) Initially:

G. j- < MIA j < PIA j-. § 102
< PIA *y-*, § 106.

< PIA *jy* :
< PIA *ji* :

(b) Medially :

K. *-j-* or *-jj-* < MIA *-jj-* :

< PIA (1) *-dy-*: *vīju* (*vidyút*).
(2) *-dj-* > *-jj-* already in Sk.
(3) *-jy-*
(4) *-rj-*,
(5) *-jr-*
(6) *-jv-*
(7) *-bj-*:
(8) *-ry-*, § 132.
(9) *-yy-*, § 132.

jh

§ 150. (a) Initially:

K. *jh-* < MIA *jh-* (see my "Initial *jh-* in Indo-Aryan" in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, II, pp. 97-105) :

< PIA (1) *jh-*
(2) *dhy-*
(3) *dhv-*
(4) *kṣ-*
(5) *ś-*
(6) *j-* by initial aspiration.

(b) Medially:

K. *jj* (*h*) < MIA *-jj-*:

< PIA (1) *-jjh-*
(2) *dhy-*, § 129.
(3) *-hy-*, § 132.

ṭ

§ 151. (a) Initially:

K. *ṭ-* < MIA *ṭ-* < PIA *ṭ-*
< PIA *ṭv-*, cf. Sk. *ṭvalati* : *ṭalati* is disturbed.

(b) Medially:

K. *-ṭṭ-* or *-ṭ-* < MIA *-ṭṭ-*:

< PIA (1) *-rt-*, § 87.
(2) *-ṭy-*

< MIA *-ṭṭh-* by deaspiraion, see below.

ṭh

§ 152. (a) initially:

K. *ṭh-* < MIA *ṭh-* < PIA *ṭh-*
< PIA *sth-* (especially in the root √*sthā*): s, gs. *ṭhāṇa* (*sthāna-*), *ṭhikāṇi* (*sthíti-*).

(b) Medially:

K. *-ṭṭ(h)-*, *-ṭ(h)-* < MIA *-ṭṭh-*:

< PIA (1) *-rth-*: § 87.
(2) *-ṣṭ-* § 138.
(3) *-ṣth-* § 138.
(4) *-sth-* ?
(5) *-ṭhy-*:

ḍ

§ 153. (a) Initially:

K. *ḍ-* < MIA *ḍ-* < PIA *ḍ-*
< PIA *d-* by cerebralisation: ns. ngs. *ḍōri* (*dāru-*).

(b) Medially:

K. *-ḍḍ-* or *-ḍ-*:

K. *-ḍ-* < MIA *-ḍ-* < PIA *-t-*
= < PIA *rt-*, § 86.

K. *-dd-* or *-ḍ-* (by simplification) < MIA *-dd-*:
< PIA (1) *-rd*, § 87.
(2) *-ḍy-*:

K. *-ḍḍ-* < MIA *-ḍḍh-* by deaspiration, see below.

ḍh

154. (a) Initially:

K. *ḍh-* < MIA < PIA *ḍh-*
< PIA *dh-* by cerebralisation.

(b) Medially:

K. *-ḍḍ(h)-* or *ḍ(h)-* < MIA *-ḍḍh:*
< PIA (1) *-rdh-*, § 87.
(2) *-ḍhy-*
(3) *-ṛddh-*: ?
(4) *-*zdh-* > *-ḍh-* in Sk. already.

ṇ

§ 155. (a) Initially K. *ṇ-* < PIA *n-* only in the numeral nine and its derivatives: s. gs. *ṇavva, navva* (*náva-*); s. gs. *ṇavvada*, x. nx. gx. *ṇōy* (*navatí-*) ninety.

(b) Medially:

K. *-ṇ-* < MIA *-ṇ-* < PIA *-n-* § 112.
K. *-ṇṇ-*[65] < MIA *-ṇṇ-* < PIA (1) *-rṇ-* §§ 87.
(2) *-ṇy-*: ?
(3) *-nv-*: ?

t

§ 156. (a) Initially:

K. *t-* < MIA *t-* < PIA *t-* §§ 102.
< PIA *tr-*: s. gs.. *tīni* (*trīṇi*).
< PIA *tv-*:

(b) Medially:

K. *-t-* or *-tt-* < MIA *–tt–*:
< PIA (1) *-tt-*:
(2) *-kt-* § 122.
(3) *-pt-*
(4) *-tn-*
(5) *-tm-* : ?
(6) *-tr-*
(7) *-t(t)va:*

K. *-tt-* or *-t-* < MIA *–tth–* by deaspiration, see below.

65. Actually it is *-nn-* dental, unless it stands for germinated *-ṇ-* due to stress.

th

§ 157. (a) Initially:

K. *th-* < MIA *th-* < PIA *st-*:
< PIA *sth-*:
(b) Medially:

K. *-tt(h)-*, *-t(h)* < MIA *-tth-*:
< PIA (1) *-tra-*
(2) *-rth-*:
(3) *-st-*
(4) *-sth-*
(5) *-kth-*: s. gs. *śīta* (*siktha-*) boiled rice.

d

§ 158. (a) Initially:

K. *d-* < MIA *d-* < PIA *d-*:
< PIA *dr-*:
< PIA *dv-*:
(b) Medially:

K. *-dd-* or *d-* < MIA *-dd-*:
< PIA (1) *-dd-*:
(2) *-bd-*:
(3) *-dr-*:
(4) *-rd-*.
(5) *-dv-*:

K *-dd-* or *-d* < MIA *-ddh-* by deaspiration, see below.

dh

§ 159. (a) Initially:

K. *dh-* < MIA *dh-* < PIA *dh-*
< PIA *dhr* ?
(b) Medially:

K. *-dd(h)-* or *d(h)-* < MIA *-ddh-*:

< PIA (1) *-gdh-*
(2) *-bdh-*
(3) *-dhv-*
(4) *-ddh-*

ṇ

§ 160. (a) Initially:

K. *n-* < MIA *n-* (or *ṇ-*) < PIA *n-*
< PIA *ny-*: s. gs. *nistā* (*nyasati*) puts on a garment, dresses.

(b) Medially:

(α) K. *-n-* or *-nn-* < MIA *-ṇṇ-*:
< PIA (1) *-ṇy-*
(2) *-rṇ-*
(3) *-ṇv-*

(β) K. *-n-* or *-nn-* < MIA *-ṇh-*:
< PIA (1) *-kṣṇ-*: s. gs. *sānu*, x. gx. nx. *lán*, *lhān* (*ślakṣṇá-*) loose.
(2) *-śn-*
(3) *-ṣṇ-*: s. g. *hūna* (*uṣṇá-*)
(4) *-sn-*
(5) *-hn-*:
(6) *-hṇ-*

(γ) K. *-n-* or *-nn-* < MIA *-nn-* (written also *-ṇṇ-*)
< PIA (1) *-jñ-*
(2) *-mn-*
(3) *-ny-*
(4) *-nv-*
(5) *-nn-*

nh

§ 161. This appears only initially as a result of the reduction of PIA *sn-* < MIA *nh-*: s. gs. *nhāṇa* (*snāna-*).

p

§ 162. (a) Initially :

K. *p-* < MIA *p-* < PIA *p*.
< PIA *py*: ?
< PIA *pr-*:
< PIA *pl*: s. gs. *põvtā* (*plávate*) swims.

(b) Medially :

K. *-pp-* or *-p-* < MIA *pp-*:
< PIA (1) *-tp-*
(2) *-tm-* : s. gs. *āppaṇa*, x. gx. nx. *āpuṇ* (*ātmán-*)
(3) *-pr-* :
(4) *-rp-* :
(5) *-lp-* :
(6) *-pl-* :
(7) *-tv-*,
(8) *-py-*

K. *-pp-* or *-p-* < MIA *-pph-* through deaspiration, see below.

ph

§ 163. (a) Initially:

K. *ph-* < MIA *ph-* < PIA *ph-*
< PIA *sp-*
< IA *sph-*

(b) Medially:

K. *-pp(h)-* or *-p(h)-* < MIA *-pph-*:
< PIA (1) *-śph-*
(2) *-sph-*
(3) *-ṣp-*
(4) *-ṣph-*
(5) *-ḥpa-*
(6) *-ḥpha-*

b

§ 164. (a) Initially:

K. *b-* < MIA *b-* < PIA *b-*
< PIA *dv-*: s. gs. *bārā* (*dvā-daśa*) etc.
< PIA *br-*:
(b) Medially:

K. *-bb-* or *-b-* < MIA *-bb-*:
< PIA (1) *br-*:
(2) *rb-*:
(3) *-rv-*:

K. *-bb-* or *-b-* < MIA *-bbh-* through deaspiration see below

bh

§ 165. (a) Initially:

K. *bh-* < MIA *bh-* < PIA *bh-*
< *bha-*: s. gs. *bhōvaru* (*bhramara-*) bumble bee.
(b) Medially:

K. *-bb(h)-* or *b(y)-* < MIA *-bbh-*:
< PIA (1) *-dbh-*
(2) *-bhy-*
(3) *-rbh-*
(4) *-bhr-*
(5) *-hv-*

m

§ 166. (a) Initially:

K. *m-* < MIA *m-* < PIA *m-*
< PIA *mr-*:
< PIA *ml-*:

K. *m-* < PIA *l-*, see foot-note to § 104.
(b) Medially:

(α) K. *-mm-* or *-m-* < MIA *-mm-*:

< PIA (1) *-nm-*
(2) *-my-*
(3) *-rm-*
(4) *-lm-*

(β) K. *-mm-* or *-m-* < MIA *-mh-*:

< PIA (1) *-ṣm-*: s. gs. *hūma* (*ūṣmán-*)
(2) *-sm-*:
(3) *-śm-*:
(4) *-kṣm-*:
(5) *-hm-*: s. gs. *bāmmūṇu*, x. gx. nx. *bāmoṇ* (*brâhmaṇa-*).

mh

§ 167. K. *mh-* occurs only initially as a result of the reduction of PIA *sm-* > MIA *mh-* or of initial aspiration of PIA *m-*,

(α) PIA *ṣm-* > K. *mh-*: s. gs. *mhasṇẽ* (*smaśāna-*).

(β) Initial aspiration: s. gs. *mhāl-gaḍo*, *mhāllo* (*mahallaka-*) s. gs. *mhaiśi*, *mhaśi*, x. gx. nx; *mhōs* (*mahiṣá-*, *máhiṣī*).

(γ) In the root *mhaṇuṁk*, *mhōṇuṁk*, initial *mh-* corresponds to Sk *bh-*.

y

§ 168. (a) Initially:

K. *y(e)-* < MIA *e-* < PIA (1) *e-*:
(2) *ai-*:

(b) Medially:

K. *-y-* replaces PIA *-k-*, *-g-*, *-c-*, *-j-*, *-t-*, *-d-*, *-p-*, lost in MIA.

v

§ 169. (a) Initially:

K. *v-* < MIA *v-* < PIA *v-*
< PIA *vy-*
< PIA *vr-*
(b) Medially:

K. *-v-* < MIA *-v-* < PIA *-p-*
= as "hiatus-bridge", see § 49.
= MIA *-ũ-* < PIA *-m-*: s. gs. *gãvu* (*grãma-*).

r

§ 170. (a) Initially:

K. *r-* < MIA *r-* < PIA *r-*
K. *r-* < PIA *l-*, § 96 (b).
K. *r-* < MIA *r-* < PIA *vru-*: s. gs. *rūku* (Sk. *vṛkṣá* > **vrukṣá-* > *rukṣá-*: MIA *rukkha-*)

(b) Medially:

K. *-r-* < PIA *-r-* } § 96.
< PIA *-l-* }

l

§ 171. (a) Initially:

K. *l-* = PIA } *l-* } see § 96.
= PIA } *r-* }

(b) Medially:

K. *-ll-* or *-l-* <MIA *-ll-*:
< PIA (1) *-ly-*
(2) *-lv-*
(3) *-ll-*
(4) *-*dl-* > *-ll-* in PIA cf. *malla-*: *madrá-*: **madla-*

ḷ

§ 172. Koṅkaṇī *ḷ* occurs only medially, either intervocally or in combination with cerebral stops.

K. *-ḷ-* < MIA *-l-* < PIA *-r-* or *-l-*

K. *-ḷ-* < MIA *-l-*/*-ḍ-* < PIA *-ṭ-* or *-ḍ-*

In the word s. gs. *pāḷnẽ* (for **pāḷaṇẽ*) etc. *ḷ* occurs in combination.

§ 173. Koṅkaṇī has reduced all the PIA sibilants to *s*, but a secondary change depending upon the following vowel has given us *ś* and *s* (*ś* before *i*, *e* and *s* before other vowels).

(a) Initially:

(α) K. *s-* < MIA *s-* (Mg. *ś-*) < PIA *ś-*, *ṣ-*, *s-*
< PIA *śr-*:
< PIA *śy-*:
< PIA *śl-*:
< PIA *śv-*:
< PIA *sy-*:
< PIA *sr-*:
< PIA *sv-*:

(β) K. *s-* < MIA *ch-* < PIA (1) *kṣ-*:
(2) *ch-*:
(3) *ps-*:
(4) *ts-*: ?

(b) Medially:

(α) K. *-ss-* or *-s-* < MIA *-s-* < PIA *-ś-*, *-ṣ-*, *-s-*: s. gs. *pisso* x. gx. nx. *piso* (*piśāca-*).

(β) K. *-ss-* or *-s-* MIA *-ss-*
< PIA (1) *-rś-*:
(2) *-śr-*:
(3) *-śy-*:
(4) *-ṣy-*:
(5) *-sy-*:
(6) *-sr-*:
(7) *-śl-*:
(8) *-śv-*:
(9) *-ṣv-*:
(10) *-sv-*:
(11) *-rṣ-*:
(12) *-t + s-*:

(γ) K. *-ss-* or *-s-* < MIA *-(c)ch-* < PIA (1) *-kṣ-*
(2) *-ps-*:
(3) *-ts-*:

h

§ 174. (a) Initially:

K. *h-* < MIA *h-* < PIA *h-*: s. gs. *haṇu* (*hánu-*).

K. *h-* by initial aspiration: *hūna* (*uṣṇá-*), *hūma* (*ūṣmán-*).

(b) Medially:

K. *-h-* < MIA *-h-*:

< PIA (1) *-kh-*:
(2) *-gh-*:
(3) *-jh-*:
(4) *-lh-*:
(5) *-dh-*:
(6) *-ph-*:
(7) *-bh-*:

SVARABHAKTI

§ 175. The insertion of a light vowel or Anaptyxis to break a combination of consonants is fairly common in MIA and has come down to the NIA stage in a good number of words. Koṅkaṇī is no exception to the generality of NIA languages. A few examples may be noticed here.

s. gs. *varasa* (*varṣa-* > **var^{a}ṣa*) year;

x. nx. gx. g. *ārso* (*ādarśa-* > **ādar^{a}(i)śa*) a mirror.

s. gs. *dhŭvōru* (*dhūmra-* > **dhūm^{a}ra*) smoke.

INSERTION OF PLOSIVES

§ 176. When a group nasal + liquid occurs in PIA it sometimes happens that between the nasal *n* or *m* and the liquid a voiced plosive of the same class as the nasal is inserted. It was already mentioned in § 133 that PIA *-mr-* > *-*mbr-* which converged with PIA *-mb-* in MIA. There are a few cases not discussed there which deserve special mention here.

**-nr-* > *-ndar-*: s. gs. *pand^{a}rā*, x. gx. n. *pond^{a}rā* (*pañca-daśa*: Ap. *panna-rasa* > **panrasa* or *pann^{a}rasa*: **pand^{a}rasa*)

-mr- > *-*mbr-* > *-mb-*, § 133. But in a few learned borrowings the change *-mbr-* is retained; s. gs. *ambrûta* (*amṛta-*) **nectar, ambrosia.**

-ml- > **-mbl-* (through **-mbəl-*) > *-mb-*: s. gs. *āmbaṭ*, x. gx. nx. *āmboṭ* (*āmla-*) sour, acid; but in a few cases *-mbl-* is retained: s. gs. *āmbli* (*āmlikā*) unripe mango.

INSERTION OF *r*

§ 177. Hemacandra in his Prakrit Grammar mentions (4. 399) the word *Vrāsu* < *Vyāsaḥ* in Apabhraṁśa under the general rule *abhūtepi kvacit* which sanctions the insertion of *r* as the second member of a consonant group where the group is not historically related to a consonant group in MIA or PIA. In such cases we have a real instance of insertion. Elsewhere Ap. optionally retains a *r* of a consonantal group. This insertion is possibly due to analogical formation or more likely to contamination. Thus s. gs. *druṣṭu*, *duṣṭu* (*duṣṭa-*) bad, evil is due to contamination with Sk. *dur-* giving us a possible **durusṭa-* > **dᵘrusṭa-* > **druṣṭa* which is then used as a loan word. Similarly in ns. ngs. *srāpu* (*śāpa-*) the insertion of *r* may be due to contamination with Sk. *śrápaṇam* cooking, **boiling, *śrāpin-* mfn; etc.**

PROTHESIS

§ 178. The instances of prothesis of *y-* and *v-* are quite common to all Koṅkaṇī dialects, and particularly characteristic of the lower grade of speech. *y* is often prefixed to *ě*, and *v* to *ŏ*.[66] Thus s. gs. *yětta*, x. gx. nx. *yětā*: s. gs. *ěttā*; s. gs. *yēka*: *ēka*, etc; s. gs. *vŏkkada* (< *auṣadha-*) medicine. For other examples reference may be made to the literature indicated under Dictionaries in § 2.

ELISION OF CONSONANTS

§ 179. *Aphæresis.* In the lower grade of Koṅkaṇī dialects particularly of the x-variety the elision of initial *v-* is quite

66. For other languages utilising prothesis of *y* and *v* see GRIERSON: *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, §294 (p. 143).

common. Thus we have x. gx. nx. *vikũk*: *ikũk* to sell; *viskal*: *iskaḷ* wide, scattered; *visar-*: *isar* to forget; *vepār*: (*y*)*epār* business.[67]

Aphaeresis of *h* is common to these rustic dialects: gx. *hāũ*: *āũ* (< *ahakam*).

INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS

§ 180. *n-* and *l-* often interchange, § 97.
l- and *n-* often interchange, § 97.
m- and *l-* interchange, § 104, f. n. 1.

METATHESIS

§ 181. Metathesis is common to many words. Thus ns. *up^{a}rātẽ*, s. *upparṭẽ*: gs. *urpāṭẽ* (*viparīta-*) contrary, opposite, inverse; s. gs. *haḷu*, x. nx. gx. *hōḷu* (< *laghu-*, *laghuka-*: MIA *halua-*). In this section we may also consider the case of initial aspiration as due to metathesis.[68]

SANDHI

§ 182, The *sandhi* which is observable in the various dialects of Koṅkaṇī is not quite uniform within the same dialect. We shall note here the important changes due to vowel *sandhi* and consonant *sandhi*.

VOWEL SANDHI

§ 183. We shall not consider here the vowel *sandhi* retained in Koṅkaṇī through PIA and MIA.

(α) MIA *-ao* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} < \text{PIA (1) } -ako \\ \quad\quad\;\; (2) \; -ato \\ \quad\quad\;\; (3) \; -ayo \\ \quad\quad\;\; (4) \; -avo \end{array} \right\}$ K. *-o*, § 53.

67. *Op. cit.* § 299 (p. 145).
68. GRIERSON, *op. cit.*, § 369.

(β) MIA *-āo* $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} < \text{PIA} & (1)\ \textit{-ākо} \\ & (2)\ \textit{-āco} \\ & (3)\ \textit{-āto} \\ & (4)\ \textit{-ādo} \end{array} \right\}$ K. *-o*, § 53.

(γ) MIA *ă* + *â-*

(1) *ă* + *a* > K. *ā*, § 54 A.
(2) *t* + *ă* > K, *ā* § 54 B.
(3) *a* + *a* > K. *e* (rarely *ā* in recent loan-words) § 55.

§ 184. (α) The first vowel is *i* or *ĕ*.

(1) *e* + *a* > K. *e*, § 56.
(2) *i* + *a* > K. *e* or *i*, § 59.
(3) *i* + *i* > K. *ī*, § 56.
(4) *i* + *e* > K. *e*, § 56.
(5) *e* + *i* > K. *e* or *a*, § 56.
(6) *i* + *u* > K. *u*, § 56.

(β) The first vowel is *û* or *ō*.

(1) *û* + *a* > K. *o* or *u* § 57.
(2) *û* + *o* > K. *u*, § 57.
(3) *û* + *ñ* > K. *û*, § 57.
(4) *u* + *i* > K. *ū*, § 57.
(5) *o* + *a* > K. *o*, § 57.

CONSONANTAL SANDHI

§ 185. With the loss of *ă*, *ĭ* or *ŭ* in the interior of a word through reduction to *a* and then to ^{a} (§ 30) consonants come into contact with each other. In these circumstances the characteristic consonant *Sandhi* of Sanskrit comes into play, but not uniformly. Thus we have s. gs. *paḍtā* (< **paḍ^{a}tā*: Sk. *pátati* but g. *paṭṭā* (through **paḍ-tā*). As opposed to this we have s. gs. *paḷḷo* (< **paḍ-lo*: *paḍ^{a}-lo*): gx. *gŏḍgoḍ-lo*, *pŏḍḷo*, g. ngs. *paḍ-lo*. There are hundreds of such examples in each of the dialects herein discussed.

§ 186. That this *Sandhi* process is not uniform is seen in such strings of examples as s. gs. *paḍ-tā*: *paḷḷo*, *kaḷ-tā*: *kaḷḷē*; g. *paṭṭā*: *paḍ-lo*, etc. It will be seen that practically all

examples of this nature come under the general treatment of assimilation of dentals by cerebrals. The assimilation is of two degrees. In g. *paṭṭā* < **paḍ-tā*: **paṭ-tā*, **paṭ-ṭā* there is only the devoicing of *-ḍ* with cerebralization of *t-;* in s. gs. *paḷḷo* there is first the cerebralization of *l-* (of **paḍ-lo*) which then assimilates the *-ḍ*. In g. *paḍ-lo* and s. gs. *paḍ-tā* the assimilation of *-l-* or *-t-* is not initially carried out, and thus further assimilation is rendered impossible.

PART II: MORPHOLOGY

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

§ 187. The gradual simplification of PIA Morphology through MIA has completely altered the grammar of modern I-A. vernaculars. For the general development of Morphology reference may be made to Jules Bloch's L'*indo-aryen*, pp. 99-300, where he discusses the evolution of the morphology of the nouns (pp. 105-204) and of the verbs (pp. 207-300).

§ 188. In PIA the system of noun and verb-inflexion was very complex. It is especially in the case of verbs that we can see the difference between Vedic and Classical Sanskrit; here the different moods affect only the present system, whereas in Vedic Sanskrit they affect also the perfect and aorist systems. Similarly corresponding to Sk. *devaiḥ* we have in Vedic *priyáis* and *priyébhis;* and to Sk. *devāḥ* we have Vedic *priyāsas* and *priyās.* Some of these forms have survived in MIA languages regularly, for the instrumental plural ending *-(e)bhis* [i. e. ~ *(e)-bhis*] as applied to nouns ending in *-a* has survived as against the classical ending *-ais;* similarly in Pāli we have in the nom. pl. forms like *upāsakāse,* wherein the ending *-āse* reminds us of Vedic *-āsas.*[1] Again in verbal inflexion we have forms like *tappāmase, abhinandāmase,*[2] etc. reminding us of Vedic *bhávā-masi* on the one hand and *bhávā-mahe* on the other.

§ 189. The characteristic of PIA morphology may be said to consist in the theme or base on the one hand, of the ending or suffix on the other, giving us the full base from the root-form, and finally the elaborate system of termina-

1. Geiger, § 794.
2. *Ibid.*, § 122.

tions which modify the entire position of the central word, whether noun or verb. But the interplay of these is very complex, bringing in changes in the quality or quantity of the vowel in the syllable of the word, an aspect which is called vowel alternation.[3] As regards nouns there are three genders, three numbers and seven cases (or eight if the Vocative is counted) affecting the different classes of words. In the case of verbs there are three numbers, three persons, five tenses and five moods, and three voices.

§ 190. This complexity is simplified to a great extent in MIA. The three numbers have disappeared yielding place to two, singular and plural. The different classes of nouns ending in consonants have become identified with nouns ending in vowels due to loss of final consonants in MIA (see §§ 15, 76). The dative case has been supplanted by the genitive in most words, etc. In the case of verbs the middle voice has been gradually eliminated; the number of tenses and moods has also been lessened, and the different classes of verbs reduced to standard types.

§ 191. The process of simplication witnessed in the MIA stage continued in the NIA stage, and worked an absolutely new change from the synthetic to the analytic stage. This process of simplification is in reality a reducing and regularizing process. As in MIA two numbers alone — singular and plural — are preserved. Of the many dialects of Koṅkaṇi the southern group shows the distinction between the sing, and plur, whereas the northern group, in line with Marāṭhī,[4] does not distinguish them in the nominative of masculines derived from the Sanskrit *-a* class, e. g. *dēv* (in opposition to s.gs. *dēvu*: *deva*).[5]

3. *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 99-101.

4. *La langue marathe*, § 177, (p. 176).

5. In this Section s. and gs. will be taken as the norm for all Koṅkāṇī dialects; forms for x. gx. nx. g. etc. can be derived from these by the application of the laws arrived at in the Phonology Section.

DECLENSION

§ 192. Koṅkaṇī, like other IA languages, perserves in a reduced degree and a more regularized manner the flexional system of MIA. But on the ruins of the older formal system the NIA have built up certain characteristics of their own.

This is seen principally in the themes or stems where the phonological changes studied by us in the first part show the general maintenance of the IA characteristics of these changes. Then there is the question of the gender, number, and case with case-terminations.

The theme or stem

§ 193. Bearing in mind our observations on the final vowels (§§ 15-20) we may say that all nouns in Koṅkaṇī end in *-a*, *-ā*, *-i* or *-ī*, *-u* or *-ū*, *-o* and *-ẽ*.

-a: *māna* nape of the neck; *mana* mind; *ghara* house; *kāma* work, etc.

-ā: *dhaḍḍā*, *boḍḍā* dull-witted, *mainā* a bird, *gaḍḍā* chief.

-ī: *mātti* mud; *bhayi* earth; *rāṇi* queen; *mhāntāri* old woman.

-ū: *pūtu* son; *mhōvu* mead, honey; *kānu* ear, etc.

-o: *ghoḍo* horse; *pānno* udder; *mhāntāro* old man, etc.

-ẽ: *sūṇẽ* dog; *māttẽ* head; *sāttẽ* umbrella etc.;

-ĩ, i: *dhaĩ* curds; *motĩ* pearl.

As a result of the loss of the original short finals of the MIA in the northern Koṅkaṇī dialects we have stems ending in consonants also, but their original ending may easily be seen in s. gs. dialects. Hence we shall not specially deal with the northern dialects in this connection unless they show some characteristics not witnessed in the southern group.

Gender

§ 194. The distinction of the three genders noticed in OIA and MIA is clearly kept up in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī, a feature which it shares with Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sinhalese

on the one hand, and with the Himalayan language Bhadarwahi[6] on the other.

The results of J. LOHMANN's *Genus* and *Sexus*[7] show us that in Indo-European the idea of *sex* is secondary whereas the idea of *genus* (animate: inanimate) is primary, that the neuter builds in its fundamental forms a pure morphological category and that from the *formal* point of view the Feminine and Masculine form a single category, and that originally from this consideration the IE system had no connection in its *genus*-system with the *sex* of the thing denoted. In PIA and OIA the distinction between animate and inanimate genus has no importance; the morphology shows that except in the direct cases (Nom-Acc.) the Masc. and Neut. form a single category in opposition to the Fem. For a general consideration of this problem as applied to the New Indo-Aryan languages see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 150 seq.

While the distinction of the genders has been preserved in all these three stages so far as the above-mentioned languages are concerned, the gender of individual nouns has not always been kept intact. The beginnings of a certain normalization are already seen in the declension of the Fem. *-ī* and *-ū* and the corresponding Masc. nouns in the Nom.-Acc. plural forms, e.g. *aggīo, sāhūo* by the side of other forms such as *maīo, devīo, dheṇūo vahūo*. This tendency of reducing the Masc. nouns of OIA ending in *-i* or *-ū* to Fem. in NIA is seen in many instances:

Sk. *agníḥ*: MIA *aggī*, NIA. *āg, āgi, agg* etc. fem.

This may not be taken as a general rule for all NIA languages, e.g. Sk. *ikṣuḥ*: Hindi *ūkh, īkh* fem. but Marāṭhī *ūs*, Panjabi *ikkh* masc.

6. *Indian Linguistics*, Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India, Vol. I, parts II-IV, 1931, pp. 1-38. Neuter Gender in Bhadarwahi by Siddheshwar VARMA.

7. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1932. [= Ergänzungshefte zur Zeit. f. vergl. Sprachforschung auf deum Gebiete der. idg. Sprachen, No. 20].

Again in the case of Sk. *vártman* neut. (*vartma*), MIA *vaṭṭā* fem. *vaṭṭa* masc. and neut. all the modern derivatives show the feminine gender.

§ 195. The Koṅkaṇī nouns have certain characteristic endings connected with the different genders.

-a with neut. and fem.:	(a) Neut. *kāma* work; *mana* mind; *ghara* house; etc. (b) Fem. *māna* the nape of the neck; *vāṭa* way, *jāṅga* think, *lāja* shame etc.
-ā with masc. only[8]:	*dhaḍḍā* imbecile, dull-witted, *gaḍḍā* chief, etc.
-ī with fem. only:	*māṭṭi* mud, *kātri* scissors, *hastī* elephant, etc.
-u with masc. only[9]:	*hātu* hand, *kānu* ear, *duḍḍu* money etc. (Exception: s.gs. *āv-su* mother).
-ẽ- with neut. only:	*sūṇẽ* dog; *sāttẽ* umbrella, parasol; *māttẽ* head, etc.

-ī with neut. in *dhaĩ* (Sk. *dadhi-*) curds, *motĩ* (Sk. *mauktikam*).

-o with masc. only: *ghodo* horse, *kollo* fox etc.

§ 196. It will be seen from above that where Marāthi shows a feminine in *-ū* (e.g. *vāḷū*) from a MIA. *-uā*: Sk. *-u-kā* Koṅkaṇī will always show a Masc., whereas in the case of Marāṭhī masc. in *-i* (e.g. *hāti* or *hāthī*: Sk. *hastī*) Koṅkaṇī will always show a fem. (e.g. *tī hastī* fem.). We may therefore deduce from such examples that normalization of gender etc. has proceeded to a greater extent in the Koṅkaṇī dialects

8. Excepting *nomina proporia*, e.g. *Rādhā*, *Umā*, *Ramā*, etc.

9. Excepting some neuters in *-ũ*: *cerdũ* child, *cēdũ* young maid-servant, etc.

than in the Marāṭhī dialects. In the whole of this section the final short vowels are taken as characteristic of *ur*-Koṅkaṇī nouns although at present they are seen only in the southern group, having been recently lost in the northern group.

§ 197. The Koṅkaṇī neuter in *-a* sometimes corresponds to Sk. masc.: s. gs. *mājjara* (*mārjāraḥ*) cat, *gāḍḍava* (*gardabhaḥ*, ass, *ḍukkara* (*sūkaraḥ*) pig. In fact all names indicating some of these domestic animals appear to be neuter whereas the wild animals are generally indicated in the masc. as in OIA: s. gs. *vāgu* (*vyāghraḥ*) tiger, *siṁhu* (*siṁhaḥ*) lion. This does not apply to extended nouns, as in *cittala* neut. spotted stag, hind, deer (Sk. *citra-* with MIA *-alla-* extension). The extension in *-aka-* shows all the three genders: s. gs. x. gx. nx. etc *ghoḍo* masc. *ghōḍī* fem. horse, mare and *sūṇẽ* dog. As a matter of fact where this *-aka-* is in the masc. we automatically get the fem. in *-ikā-*, that is Koṅkaṇī *-ī*, but the neut. remains without any change; thus *sūṇẽ* represents a dog as well as a bitch, but *ghoḍo* represents a stallion and *ghōḍī* a mare.

It therefore appears that a study of the entire mass of these examples from the NIA languages distinguishing these three genders is absolutely essential for discovering the principles of such differentiation—a subject to be investigated outside our present scope.

§ 198. The neut. which separates itself from the masc. only in the direct cases (nom. acc.) in OIA stages is identical in the other cases with the masc. And in general there is no semantic connection between these two; but not so between the masc. and fem. of adjectival nouns; here the sense of bigness and smallness is inherent in the masc. and fem. respectively. Thus we have *māḍḍo* in s. gs. x. for the cocoanut tree but *māḍḍī* for the betelnut tree, showing the comparative sizes of the two nuts. In a few cases, however, the rôle is exchanged: s. gs. *kaḷsō* a small pitcher: *kaḷśī* a big pitcher (?, a measure of rice equal to 14 seers). A similar semantic relationship holds good between neut. and fem. nouns: s. gs. *dora* rope: *dōrī* fem. a thread.

Number

§ 199. Like the MIA dialects Koṅkaṇī possesses two numbers, singular and plural, in opposition to singular, dual and plural of OIA. The dual in OIA is particularly connected with pairs such as *pitarau* parents, *bhrúvau* eyebrows, etc. But gradually the use of the numeral *dvi-* replaced the use of the dual. The idea of duality in Koṅkaṇī as in all MIA and NIA dialects is conveyed by the use of the numeral for two. The plural is used to indicate, besides plurality, a kind of respect; this is in fact an honorific use which it shares with most of the modern Indo-European languages. Of the Koṅkaṇ dialects s. alone restricts itself generally to plurality, for there is no honorific plural as such among its speakers who use it only when the need arises to converse with members of other communities.

Case

§ 200. Like all NIA languages Koṅkaṇī knows only two cases—the direct and the oblique. The nominative and accusative of OIA have merged into the direct case. For a discussion of the history of this change in Indo-Aryan, see Jules Bloch, *La langue marathe* §§ 181-184 (pp. 179-183) and *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 156-161. Unlike other languages of the type like Maraṭhī the vocative of Sk. has not merged in the direct case, but in the oblique. These two cases constitute the characteristic of Koṅkaṇī flexion.

The direct case is used generally as the subject, the inanimate direct object (e.g. *rāmāka āmbo dittā* he gives a mango to Rāma etc.) but never as a vocative as in other cognate languages.

The oblique case is used with or without postpositions; the lost postposition is seen only in hurried speech, but appears on slow analysis of the forms in question. Thus in s. g. *Rāmā āmbo dillī* a mango has been given to Rāma the form *rāmā* is identical with *rāmāk(a)*, for the question *koṇāk(a)*? to whom?, is invariably replied to by *rāmāk(a)*.

§ 201. As in Marāṭhī and other NIA languages, the direct case of bases ending in masc. *a* in Sk. or *-u* (nom. sg. form) of Koṅkaṇī is based on the corresponding nom. and dative-genitive forms of OIA.

The direct singular ends in *-u* (e.g. *hāt-u*) and the direct plural in *-a* (*hāta*, i.e. *hāt-a*); this will explain why the general practice is to give the basic form of the first as *hātu* (ending in *-u*, just as *ghoḍ-o* is ending in *-o*) whereas in the case of similar plural numerals we have the base given as *pāñč-a*, *sāt-a*, *āṭ-a*, *navv-a*, etc.

Corresponding to the above scheme we have in OIA *dévaḥ* (*dévo* before sonants): *dévāḥ* (or *dévā* before sonants), the *-o* and *-ā* being respectively reduced to Koṅkaṇī *-u* and *-a*. The sing. nom. *-u* is attested in Apabhraṁśa and Old Maraṭhi. Similarly the plural in *-a*.

In the pronominal adjectival forms like *to*, *ǰo*, *ho*, etc. of Koṅkaṇī we are to seek not the conservation of the nom. sg. in *-a*, but rather the extension of the bases with *-ka* giving us a regular *-o* ending. This *-ka* extension is applicable not only to adjectival and pronominal bases but also to some verbal bases in MIA in addition to adverbs.

§ 202. From the dat.-gen. *-aha* of Apabhraṁśa we get the oblique case for the masc.-neut. of Sk. *-a-* declension in Koṅkaṇī as *-ā̃*. Thus from *dévu* the direct case in the sing. we get the oblique singular as *dev-ā̃* and from the neut. *mana* we get the oblique sing. *man-ā̃*.

Similarly from the dat.-gen. plur. *-ahã̄* of Apabhraṁśa the oblique plural in *-ã̄* is derived from Koṅkaṇī: dir. sing. *dēv-u*, plur. *dev-a*, but oblique sing. *dev-ā̃*, plur. *dev-ã̄*; so also from the neut. *mana* the oblique sing. *man-ā̃*, plur. *man-ã̄*.

§ 203. The direct case of neuters in *-a* of OIA follows the general trend of IA development. Thus from the sing. *phala-m* we get s. gs. *phaḷa* by the loss of the final nasal (see § 16[a]) of MIA *phala-m;* corresponding to OIA *phalāni* we have MIA *phalāiṁ* or *phalā-ĩ* regularly giving the Mar. oblique plur. *phaḷẽ*, but all Koṅkaṇī dialects we get *phaḷ-[a];* this form

can only be traced to Vedic neut. plur. in *-ā* which is about twice as frequent in the Ṛgveda as the form in *-āni;* the nasality appears to be due to the contamination of these two giving us an *ur-* Koṅkaṇi *-ām*: mod. Koṅkaṇi *-à,* unless we base it on the analogy of the oblique *-ā*: *-à.*

§ 204. The direct case of feminine nouns ending in Koṅkaṇi in *-a* (from OIA *-ā*) conserves the MIA tradition: sing. *mālā*: Koṅkaṇi *māḷa,* and plur. *mālā-o*: Koṅk. *māḷ-o.*

The oblique case has the desinence *-e* for the sing. and *-ã* for the plur.: e.g. s. gs. *mān-a,* sing. : *mān (n)-o* plur. in the direct case, and in the oblique sing. *mān (n)-e*: plur. *mān (n)-ã.* The oblique singular is derived from Apabhraṁśa Gen.-Loc. termination *-ahe* and the plur. from the corresponding Ap. plur. *-ahã.*

§ 205. Most of the K. words in *-ī* are derived from Sk. *in, -ikā* or simply *-ī,* illustrated respectively by s. gs. *hastī, māttī* and *rāti*: Sk. *hastin-, mṛttikā* and *rātrī.* MIA tradition is conserved here:

	Sing.	Plur.
MIA	*rattī*	*rattī-(ẏ)o*
Kon.	*rāt-ī*	*rāt-yo*

on the analogy of which we have *mātt-i*: *māt-yo, hast-i* : *hast-yo,* etc.

The oblique sing. and plur. are respectively characterised by the desinences *-ẏe* and *ẏā,* corresponding to *-e* and *-ã* of the preceding paragraph. The palatalization in *-ẏe* and *-ẏã* is due to the extended forms of a majority of these nouns in *-ikā.* The bases for all these are the Ap. gen. sing. and plur. terminations. We thus get the oblique forms *rāt-ẏe* in sing., *rāt-ẏã* in plur.

§ 206. The few rare cases of the neuter in *-ī* or *ĩ* show the same type of oblique cases as the fem. in *-ĩ* : *mot-ẏe* : *mot-ẏã* from *mōtĩ* : Sk. *mauktikam,* Pk. *mottiaṁ.*

In the direct case, however, we have *motĩ* in the sing. and *mōtĩ* in the plur., the difference being only in the quantity of

the final vowel or rather the stress with which it is pronounced. In actuality, however, apart from this accent, it is not always possible to distinguish the different lengths of the final vowel.

§ 207. The neuters in *-ẽ* are due to OIA *-aka* ending. The direct desinences are *-ẽ* in the sing. and *-ī̃* in the plur.

Sk.	sing.	*śuna-kam*	plur.	*śunkāni*
Pk.		*suṇa-yaṁ*		*suṇayāiṁ*
Kon.		*Sūṇ-ẽ*		*sūṇ-ī̃*

The plur. here corresponds to the *-ẽ* of Maraṭhī.

The oblique is given by *-yā* in the sing. and *-yã̄* in the plur., corresponding to the *-ā* and *ã̄* of corresponding neuters in *-a*, i.e., the unextended neuters. Palatalization or the presence of *-v-* is due to the extension in *-aka-*. The Ap. gen. terminations again give us the regular oblique desinences.

§ 208. The masculines in *-o* are due to the *-aka-* extension of OIA. The direct case is given by *-o* in the sing. and *-e* in the plur.: *ghoḍo* : *ghoḍe*. We have shown that the *-o* is due to the inflected form of OIA *-ako*, MIA *-ao*, and that the plur. *-e* is to be taken as the plur. *-akā* (before sonants), MIA *-ayā* (§ 55).

The oblique is given by *-yā* in the sing. and *-yã̄* in the plur. as in the preceding case.

§ 209. Certain neuters in *-ũ* or *-ũ̄* arising from the OIA *-aka*, MIA *-u(ẏ)a-*, like the neuters *-ī* or *ī̃* arising from OIA *-ika*, MIA *-i(ẏ)a-*, need special mention here. The direct sing. ends in *-ũ* short or long, but the plural ends in *-vã̄*: s. gs. *-cerḍū̃, cerḍ-vã̄*.

The oblique sing. ends in *-vā* and the plur. in *vã̄*. The loss of *v-* in the ending *-vā* (sing.) corresponding to *-vã̄* (plur.) in *cerḍ-ā* is perhaps due to the hesitation of recognising the gender, but more probably to the cluster *-rḍ-*.

The parallelism is complete between this class and the other type of neuter nouns studied above.

§ 210. Observations on the different types.—In the preceding paragraphs we have seen the characteristics of the

entire bases of southern Koṅkaṇī. But there appears in x. gx. nx. etc., a certain tendency towards special treatment of particularly loan words, tat-samas or semi-tatsamas.

For instance Father Stephens gives in his *Grammatica* (2nd ed. 1857, p. 18) the two words *darji* (*dŏrzi*) tailor, (*vẽḷu*) bamboo. The direct case in both instances is sing. and plur. *darji* and *vẽlu*; similarly the oblique sing. and plur. appears as *darjā* (*dŏrzia*) and *velva* (*vellua*). all belonging to his sixth declensional system. The rest are exactly as given in the preceding section.

Similarly in Father Maffei's *Grammar* tat-sama words like *guru* priest, *vastu* thing, etc., (pp. 36-37) have the same form for sing. and plur. in the direct case and nasalisation alone differentiating the oblique sing. and plur. This is seen in Portuguese as well: *pādri* (p. 33).

The desinences of the various cases treated above vary phonologically with each dialect. Thus corresponding to s. gs. *-e* we may have x. *-i* which also stands for s. gs. *-ye* : s. gs. *vāl-ye* obl. sing. x. *vālī*. Such reductions are also seen in s. gs. learned borrowings: *pādr-ye*: *pādr-ī*. obl. sing. or *pādre*.

Purely Sanskrit borrowings follow the IA model. Thus Father Stephens cites on p. 10 Sk. *kalpanā-* (*cŏlpŏna*) thought.

The forms given are:

direct: sing. *kalpanā* (*colpŏna*) plur. *kalpanā* (*cŏlpŏno*)
oblique: *kalpane* (*cŏlpŏne*) *kalpanā* (*cŏlpŏnā*)

which are perfectly intelligible.

§ 210a. Certain changes which occur in polysyllabic words in the formation of the direct and oblique cases should be noted here. The illustration of a word like *mājjara* cat will be typical.

	sing	plur
direct	*mājjar-a*	*mājrā* (through *mājjᵃr-ā*)
oblique	*mājr-ā* (*mājjᵃr-ā*)	*mājr-ā* (*mājjᵃr-ā*).

The penultimate vowel in s. gs. is lost in the dir. plur. and obl. sing. as well as plur. This law constitutes the rhythmic quality of the declension.

Traces of other historical desinences

§ 211. Just as the nom.-acc. forms of OIA and MIA have given rise to the NIA direct case, and the Apabhraṁśa genitive has yielded the NIA oblique case, we find in certain formations of Koṅkaṇī traces of the earlier IA system, which it shares to some extent with Marāṭhī. As we have no traces of a Koṅkaṇī literature as such earlier than the 16th century A. D. we cannot verify at present the earlier forms employed in K.

Vocative

§ 212. Unlike other NIA languages which have the direct base serving for the Vocative all dialects of Koṅkaṇī use the oblique case for the same. The obvious reason appears to be the lengthened oblique base: *phaḷ-a*: *phaḷ-ā*, *mān-a*: *mān (n)-e*, *mātt-i*: *māt-ye*, *hāt-u*: *hāt (t)-ā*, *sūṇ-ē*: *suṇ-yā*, *ghoḍ-o*: *ghoḍ-yā*, etc. conserving to some extent the *pluta* character of the final vowel (see Pāṇini viii. 2. 24: *dūrād-d-hūte ca*). Now whereas the *pluta* is to be recognised by its predominant length, and all Koṅkaṇī dialects have preserved this more in the oblique base than in the direct, the influence of the original *pluta* should be seen in all vocative formations; analogical disturbance of other classes of nouns by the *-a* class seems to be responsible for this state of affairs.

The examples of the voc. given by Father Stephens, *Grammatica*, §§ 58-62 all show similar characteristics. The plural of the voc. is obtained by adding *-no* to the oblique sing.: *manusāno* (Stephens, § 58: *monnussa-no*); this *-no* has become in s. gs. *-nũ* or even *-nũ*, also in x.

Instrumental

§ 213. Jules Bloch (in *La langue marathe* as well as *L'indo-aryen*) finds in the Marāṭhī *-ẽ* the reduction of Sk. *-ena*, and he is supported by R. L. Turner in his paper on

the Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan (*JRAS*, 1927 pp. 227-239). On the other hand Sir George GRIERSON's suggestion that it is due to the reduction of Apabhraṁśa *-ahi* the loc. sg. termination deserves careful consideration. Professor TURNER has made a good case for this special treatment, but in the case of *-n-* we have to face the difficulty of making an exceptional case there to which there is no parallel in the whole field of IA. For the loss of occlusion of intervocalic aspirates or the change of *-m-* to *-ũ-* or *v* etc. we have parallels in the history of IA though under different circumstances, and thus we can speak with right of the phonetic weakness of terminational elements as in Vedic *-mahe*: Greek *metha*, etc.; but what such phonetic weakness will do to *-n-* becomes purely hypothetical in as much as no illustration of such weakness is witnesed in the entire history of IA except the oft-quoted neut. plurals of MIA *-āĩ*, *-ĩi* and *-ũi*: Sk. *-āni*, *-ini* and *-uni*. This problem deserves to be studied carefully.

Whatever be the origin then of the instr. sing. in *-ẽ*, whether the inst. *-ena* of Sk. or the loc. *-ahĩ* of Ap., traces of earlier IA formation are seen in Koṅkaṇī, particularly in the pronominal bases *hãv-ẽ tũ-vẽ*, *tãn (n)-ẽ*, *te-ṇẽ*, *tin (n) ẽ*, etc.

The plur under similar circumstances is in *-ĩ*: *ãm (m) ĩ*, *tũm (m) -ĩ*, *tãn (n) ĩ*, etc. This termination *-ĩ* is to be traced to MIA *-ehĩm*.

Locative

§ 214. Sk. *-e* appears as *-i* in certain Koṅkaṇī forms: s. gs. *-gēri*: *ghari* (cf. Fr. STEPHENS, *Grammatica*, § 68: *tache ghŏri putru nassilo*, or in our system *tāce ghari putra nāsilo*). Another example quotable from Fr. STEPHEN's work is (§ 66) *borie velli ailo*, i.e. *barye vēḷi āilo*; here *vēḷi* represents an analogical formation to *gēri* quoted above, for *vēḷ-u* is masc. in Koṅkaṇī. Other forms seen in this grammar are: *sŏcalli* (i.e. *sakāḷi*, s. gs. *sakāḷī*) and *tŏttaqui* (i.e. *taṭāki*). The *i* or *ĩ* in *sakāḷī* is probably due to MIA *sakalliuam*: Sk. *sakaluam*. But in s. gs. *kāli* (*kaluam*: *kalye*) and *phāui* (Sk. *prabhāte*: MIA *pahāya-*) we have traces of the earlier loc.

termination. Similarly in the adverbs *khaĩ, thaĩ* we have traces of MIA *khaĩ, thaĩ.*

A further case is connected with the postposition *lāg(g)i* from Sk. *lagna-*. In s. gs. *aśśi,* in this manner, *taśśi,* in that manner, *kaśśi,* in what manner, ns. *jaśśi,* in which manner (relative) the same phenomenon is seen.

Corresponding to this *-i* or *-ĩ* there are certain forms ending in *-ā* or *-ã̄*: s. gs. *ghār-ā* in the house = *gharā-nt(u);* in the case of present participles used absolutively: *kartā kartā* while doing, etc. Here these participles are duplicated; when not duplicated we get forms of the type *kartān-ā* or *kartānā,* etc. This desinence is seen in the ablative *gharã thāũnu,* gs. *gharã thāk(k)unu* etc. "From within the house". Parallel to *khaĩ, thaī,* etc. we have s. gs. *hāṅgā* here, in this place, the final of which appears to belong to the same category.

Ablative

§ 215. The MIA termination *-āo,* in the reduced form *-āu* is perhaps seen in the postposition s. *thāu-nu,* gs. *thāk(k)u-nu* (< **thāk-au-nu*), but for a more probable explanation, see below, § 219.

Bloch considers in his later work that the locative *-ã̄* is in reality of ablative origin despite the sense (*L'indo-aryen* p. 174), and thus gets out of the difficulty of explaining *-ã̄* from Skr. *-ammi.* The reduction of *-āo* to *-ā* does not offer any particular difficulty and the analogy with the instrumental gives the nasalisation (*ibid.* 174).

POSTPOSITIONS

§ 216. For a general treatment of these in Indo-Aryan see Bloch, *L' indo-aryen,* pp. 181-183. For Marāṭhī see his *La langue marathe,* §§ 197-202 (pp. 195-207); for Awadhi, Baburam Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi,* pp. 212-231.

There are two kinds of postpositions in Koṅkaṇī: declinable and indeclinable. The genitive postpositions are declinable, but the rest are indeclinable.

Of the postpositions those of the instrumental are *-nẽ* in sing. *-nĩ* in plur.; that of the dative is *-ka* or *-k;* for the ablative we have s. gs. *thāũnu, thāk(k)unu,* Old gx. *ṭhāunu* (Fr. Stephens: *tthaunu,* § 509); a special form is worth nothing here, viz. combination of the genitive postposition *-čo, -cī, -cẽ,* and *-gelo, gẽlĩ, -gelẽ.*

A few others which do not come under the above category are s. gs. *lāggi, -khatīra, -pāśĩ* or *pekṣā, vairi* and its variants *-ēri, -ẽr,* for the locative which is also formed by s. gs. *-āntu* or *ānt.*

Postpositions of the Instrumental

sing. *-ne,* (*-nẽ*) plur. *-nĩ*

§ 217. The sing. *-ne* also appears in the northern K. dialects as *-na* or *-n* (Fr. Stephens, § 63: *nŏ,* i.e. *-na*). See *La langue marathe,* § 201 (p. 203), for the different hypotheses regarding its origin none of which are very satisfactory or definitive. Perhaps the presence of *n* in *-ne* and *-nĩ* may also be due to Hyper-Sanskritisation, in opposition to the older *-ē* and *ĩ,* and then extended to other NIA forms such at the dative in Gujarāti, etc.

Postpositions of the Dative

-ka (with pronouns *-kā*), *-k*

§ 218. In this particular instance the dialects of Koṅkaṇī separate themselves from those of Marāṭhī which have *-si, -e, -tẽ* and *-lā* as the postpositions of the dative. K. dialects here show an analogy with Hindi which has *-ko* and with Awadhi (Saksena, p. 221) *-ka, -kā, -kaü, kai, -kō* and *-kẽ.* The form appears to be derived from Sk. *krte: kr-tá.* With the different type of the nouns we get: *man-ā-k(a), mān(n)-e-k(a), māt(t)-ẏe-k(a), kān(n)-ā-ka* etc. from *man-a, mān-a, mātt-i, kān-u.* In the case of the pronominal bases we have *-kā: mā-kā, tu-kā, ti-kā, te-kā* etc. This may be due to the syllabic quantity in the two cases, dissyllabic having *-kā* (*kṛta: kaa*) and polysyllabic having *-ka* or *-k* in the northern dialects.

Postposition of the Ablative

s. gs. *thā(k)unu*, x. ógx. *ṭhāunu*, gs. ngs. *sākunu*

§ 219. The gs. forms show a variant with geminated *-k-*: *thākkunu, sākkunu* in addition to forms with single *-k-*. The gs. forms with surviving *-k-* show affinity with Bengali *thake-yā, thāne,* while the Old gx. quoted by Fr. STEPHENS with the cerebral (*ṭhāunu*) has a parallel in Oṛiya *ṭhũ*, Beng. *ṭhāre, ṭhārū.*

In addition to the form in *-ṭhāunu* Father STEPHENS quotes (*hounu*, § 523) *hōunu* which suggests the origin of *-ṭhāunu*. Now *hōunu* is the absolutive of the root "to be", and it is attached to the oblique form to give the ablative sense. On this analogy s. *thāunu*, ogx. *ṭhāunu*, gs. ngs. *thāk(k)unu* or *sāk(k)unu* is the absolutive of an extended form of Skr. *sthā*: MIA *thakka-* or *ṭhakka-*, giving us in K. *thāka-* or *ṭhāka-*. What is surprising, however, is that in s. and x. dialects the intervocal *-k-* is already lost by the 16th century as witnessed by the record of Father STEPHENS, whereas it is retained in the gs. dialects. The change of *th-* to *s-* is characteristic, but we may have to seek its origin in Sk. *śak-* (*śak-no-ti*: Pa. *sakkoti*, MIA *sakka-*).

Postpositions of the Genitive

-čo, -cī, -cẽ; -gelo, -gelī , –gelẽ; –lo, –lī, –lẽ

§ 220. All these postpositions are attested in Fr.. STEPHENS work (§ 64) and characterise the genitive postpositions of Koṅkaṇī from the earliest historical stage.

Regarding the origin of Marāṭhī *-cā, -cī*, and *-cẽ* BLOCH (*La langue marathe*, § 208, p. 205) traces them to Hemacandra's rule II, 149 citing the Pk. forms *amheccaya-, tumheccaya-*. "ours" and "yours". He also discusses there the various suggestions of GRIERSON, KONOW, BHANDARKAR, HOERNLE, etc.

These postpositions are normally used with the oblique forms of the nouns: *ghar-ā-čo*, but we find in several instan-

ces a form like *ghar-čo*, with a nuance of meaning, the first representing "of the house" and the second "belonging to the household". The most satisfactory explanation of the form *-čo* would be from Sk. *-tya-ka*.[10] Forms like *ghar-čo* appear rather as abbreviations of *ghar-ā-čo* under the stress of its new meaning in actual pronunciation so far as Koṅkaṇī is concerned. Even the postposition is sometimes lost: *ghār-ā khambo* "the pillar of the house" in opposition to the *ghar-ā-čo khāmbo*. For an explanation of this in Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī see Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 183.

§ 221. The postposition *-gele-* is connected with Sk. *gata-* with the extension *-alla-* (Pk. *gaya-alla, gayalla*) *ka-*, in the sense of "pertaining to". All these genitive postpositions are really adjectives of appertinance (French: l'adjective d'appartenance). Compare with this the Apabhraṁśa *-kera-a*, Pk. *keraka* (Buddhist Sk. *keraka*). The second series *-lo, -lī* and *-lẽ* is considered by Bloch as only an abbreviation of the preceding (*La langue marathe*, § 200, p. 203).

Other Postpositions

§ 222. The form *-gēri* is used occasionally as a locative postposition: *ta-gēri, Rāmā-geri* etc. See § 214 above for this form. These forms are sometimes expressed as *tāgelyā ghārā, Rāmalyā ghārā*, etc.

The form *-ānt* (*u*) is similarly used: *gharānt* (*u*) (i.e. **ghar-å-āntu*).

Most of these postpositions show their basic form: ***khàtīra, pāśi, bāggi,* etc.**

Combinations of Postpositions

§ 223. The first to be mentioned here is the postposition *-ēr* (*i*) which is always used with the adjective of appertinance: *Rāmā-c-ēr* (*i*), *maj-j-ēr* (*i*) etc. The variants of

10 Bloch favours the gerundive or absolutive derivation from **-tya* which is itself a contamination of *-tvā* with **(-t)ya* or *-ya*.

-ēr(i) are *vair(i)*, *ver(i)*, *-ār(i)* etc. in the different dialects of Koṅkaṇī deriving from Sk. *upari*, Pk. *uvari* or *uppiṁ*, Ap. **va^{a}ri* or *va^{i}ri*. The sense of this combination may be expressed in English by the preposition "on".

The postposition *ānt(u)* is similarly used: *maj-j-yānt(u)*, *tuj-j-yānt(u)*, or with adjectives of appertinance: *magal-yānt(u)*, *tugalyānt(u)*, etc.

In § 216 above we have given the combination of *-nẽ* with *-ċo*. Similarly the postposition *-thāunu* and its variants are used with the *-ċo*.

The other postposition *lāggi, pekṣă, bhittari, bhāira,* which show their basic forms in the postpositional use, are similarly used with other postpositions which may or may not be actually present: *maj-j-e lāggi, tuj-j-e laggi,* or *mar-lāgi* (*maj-lāgi* in the northern variety); *tur-lāgi* (ns. *tuj-lāgi*) etc.

thāunu is used with the loc. postposition: *ghăra-thāunu* "from within the house", *gharā bhittari thāunu*. Combinations of this type may be multiplied indefinitely.

Certain of these postpositions are used substantively or adverbially as well as postpositionally: *gharā bhāira* "outside the house", *gharā bhāira thāunu* "from outside the house". Notice also forms like *bhāir-cyā-nẽ*: *bhailyā-nẽ, bhittar-cyā-nẽ*: *bhittar-lyā-nẽ*.

Similar adverbial postpositions are *mukhāri, mākṣi, bagleka, idrāri,* etc. Notice also s. gs. *sāṅgati* (cf. Awadhi *saṅga*), *sāngā* "with, along" "in company of" etc.

Observe also forms like *gharānt(u)-lo, rān(n)ānt(u)-lo* etc. where the postposition *-ānt(u)* is combined with the gen. *-lo*.

These combinations bring out the characteristics of the genitive postpositions as forming adjectives of appertinance than anything else.

Adjectives

§ 224. The adjectives of Koṅkaṇī, like the substantives, are derived from the corresponding PIA or MIA forms, simple or enlarged. On the general nature of these in modern IA. see Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 183-189.

Examples of simple correspondence: s. gs. *sānu* (*ślakṣṇaḥ*), *ūmca* (*uccaiḥ*), *ćāṅgī* (*cangī*) etc.

Example of enlarged correspondence: s. gs. *bhoḷo* (*bahula-kaḥ*), *bhōḷī* (*bahul-i-kā*), *bhoḷẽ* (*bahula-kam*) etc.

Thus, like the substantives, the adjectives distinguish the three genders.

Accord

§ 225. The accord between the substantive and the adjective qualifying it is absolute: *hōḍu manuṣyu*, *hōḍi bāila*, *hoḍa sāṇē*. This is particularly true of the southern dialects where the final vowel of the word is preserved. In the formation of the oblique cases, however, the postpositions are applied only to the substantive when both are present: *sāna cerḍā* but *sān(n)a- cerḍ-ā-ka* etc. When the substantive is understood the postpositions are applied to the adjective: *hoḍāṅgelī khabbari* "news of the great", *hoḍā-nẽ* "loudly", i.e. "with a loud voice" (*hoḍā avāǰāne*) etc.

In several instances, however, the oblique of the adjective is not used with the oblique of the substantive: *hoḍu manuṣyu*: *hoḍḍa manuṣyā-nẽ* etc. This appears to be due to the interplay of the different dialectical tendencies influencing each other, e.g. to the above correspond nx. gx. x. *hōḍ moṇis*: *moṇś(y)āk* etc. In the plural also the corresponding form may not be seen, e.g. s. gs. *hoḍḍa manuṣya*: *hoḍḍa manuṣyāka*.

Degrees of Comparison

§ 226. Koṅkaṇī has no separate forms for the degrees of comparison of the adjective.

The Comparative is expressed by putting the compared standard in the oblique case followed by the postpositions *-kaĩ* (x. *kī*) or *pekṣā, -paśi* etc. *maj-j-ā-kai tũ čāṁgu* "you are better than myself"; *hāj-j-yā pekṣã* (or *peśī, peśĩ* etc.) to *čāṁgu* "he is better than this (fellow)".

Sometimes a second adjective is used, such as *čaḍ-u, bho,* etc. to express the excess of the quality compared, or *-ūṇ-ẽ, kammi* etc. to express the deficiency, but to a pointed question about the compared standard the oblique with the postpositions mentioned above is absolutely essential for making the Comparative Degree.

§ 227. The Superlative is expressed by the words: *sagḍã kai* (or *-pekṣã, -pāśi, -peśi* etc.), *āśśilyānt(u)* meaning ("more than) all", "among everything that exists" etc.

§ 228. In x. according to Father MAFFEI (op.cit. pp. 64-69) the postpositional elements used with the oblique for Comparative are: *prăs, părăs, vorn, ki.* Sometimes the qualifying adjective is itself qualified by a second adj. *adik* (Sk. *adhika-*). *prăs* or *părăs* is related to Sk. *para-* or *pra-; vorn* to Mar. *varūn* (Sk. *upari*).

Adjectives qualifying adjectives are also common to Koṅkaṇī for expressing, if not the degrees of comparison themselves, at least the actual extent of the particular quality suggested by the main adjective.

NUMERALS

§ 229. The following table given the cardinals of some of the dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
1	*ēka*	*yĕk*	*yĕk*
2	*dōni*	*dōn(i)*	*dōn*
3	*tīni*	*tīn*	*tīn*
4	*c(y)āri*	*cār*	*cyār*
5	*pāñčá*	*pāñč* or *pānj*	*pāñča*
6	*sa*	*so*	*so*
7	*sāta*	*sāt*	*sāt*

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
8	*āṭa*	*āṭ*	*āṭh*
9	*ṇavva or ṇavva*	*nōv*	*nav*
10	*dhā*	*dhā*	*dhā*
11	*ikrā*	*ikrā*	*yekrā*
12	*bārā*	*bārā*	*bārā*
13	*terā*	*terā*	*terā*
14	*čoudā*	*čoudā*	*čoudā*
15	*pandrā*	*pandrā*	*ponrā*
16	*soḷā*	*soḷā*	*soḷā*
17	*satrā*	*sotrā*	*sotrā*
18	*āṭhrā*	*oṭrā*	*oṭhrā*
19	*ikṇīsa ekuṇīsa*	*yekuṇīs*	*yekuṇīs*
20	*vīsa*	*vīs*	*vīs*
21	*ekvīsa*	*yēkvīs*	*yēkvīs*
22	*bāvīsa*	*bāvīs*	*bāvīs*
23	*tevīsa or trevīsa*	*tevīs*	*tevīs*
24	*čovīsa*	*čovīs*	*čovīs*
25	*paṅcvīsa*	*ponīs* or *pončvīs*	*poñcvīs*
26	*sav(v)īsa*	*sovīs*	*sovīs*
27	*satāvīsa*	*sottāvīs*	*sotāvīs*
28	*āṭṭhāvīsa*	*ŏṭṭāvīs*	*oṭhāvīs*
29	*ekuṇtīsa*	*yēkuṇetīs*	*yekuṇtīs*
30	*tīsa*	*tīs*	*tīs*
31	*ektīsa*	*yĕktīs*	*yēktīs*
32	*battīsa*	*bottīs*	*botīs*
33	*tettīsa*	*tettīs*	*tetīs*
34	*čoutīsa*	*čoutīs*	*čoutis*
35	*pāntīsa* (ns. *pačtīsa*)	*pāntīs*	*poñctīs*
36	*sattīsa*	*sottīs*	*śetīs*
37	*sāttīsa*	*sāttīs*	*sāttīs*
38	*āṭ(ḥ)tīsa*	*āṭtīs*	*āṭhtīs*
39	*ekuṇcāḷīsa*	*yĕkuṇecāḷīs*	*yekuṇcāḷīs* or *yekuṇcāḷ*
40	*c(y)āḷīsa*	*cāḷīs*	*cāḷīs* or *cāḷ*
41	*ekkecāḷīsa*	*yēkecāḷīs*	*yēkecāḷ* (*īs*)
42	*bārecāḷīsa*	*bārecāḷīs*	*bārecāḷ* (*īs*)
43	*t(r)evecāḷīsa*	*te(ve)cāḷīs*	*tevecāḷ* (*īs*)
44	*čovecāḷīsa*	*čovecāḷīs*	*covecāḷ* (*īs*)
45	*paṅcvecāḷīsa*	*poñcvecāḷīs* or *pāñcvecāḷīs*	*poncecāḷ* (*ıs*)
46	*savecāḷīsa*	*sovecāḷīsa*	*savecāḷ* (*īs*)
47	*sattecāḷīsa*	*sottecāḷīs*	*sotecāḷ* (*īs*)
48	*aṣṭecāḷīsa*	*aṣṭecāḷīs*	*āṣṭecāḷ* (*īs*)

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
49	*ekuṇpannās*	*yĕkuṇeponās*	*yekuṇoponās*
50	*pannāsa*	*ponās*	*ponās*
51	*ekkāvanna*	*yekpon* or *yekāōn*	*yĕkāvön*
52	*bāvanna*	*bāōn* or *bāupon*	*bāvon*
53	*trepanna*	*tevepon*	*trepon*
54	*čoupanna*	*čoupon*	*čoupon*
55	*pañčāvanna*	*pāñčāvon*	*poñčāvon*
56	*chappanna*	*soupon*	*sopon*
57	*sattāvanna*	*sŏṭtāvon*	*sŏtāvŏn*
58	*āṭṭhāvanna*	*ŏṭtāvŏn*	*āṭṭhāvŏn*
59	*ekūṇsāṭi*	*yĕkuṇesāṭ*	*yēkuṇŏsāṭ*
60	*sāṭi*	*sāṭ*	*sāṭ*
61	*eksaṣṭi*	*yeksŏṣṭ*	*yeksŏṭ*
62	*besaṣṭi*	*besŏṣṭ* or *byāṣoṣṭ*	*bŏsŏṭ*
63	*tresaṣṭi*	*tre-°* or *tryāsŏṣṭ*	*tresŏṭ*
64	*cousaṣṭi*	*čousŏṣṭ*	*čousŏṭ*
65	*pāñcsaṣṭi*	*pāñsŏṣṭ*	*pŏnsŏṭ*
66	*chesaṣṭi*	*sousŏṣṭ*	*sŏsŏt*
67	*sāṭsaṣṭī*	*sātaŏṣṭ*	*sātsŏṭ*
68	*ātsaṣṭi*	*āṭsŏṣṭ*	*āṭhsŏṭ*
69	*ekuṇsattari*	*yēkuṇesŏttŏr*	*yekuṇāsotor*
70	*sattari*	*sŏttŏr*	*sŏttŏr*
71	*yeksattari* or *ekyāstari*	*yēksŏttŏr*	*yēkāstŏr*
72	*byāstari*	*byāstŏr*	*bāstŏr*
73	*tryāstari*	*tryāstŏr*	*tryāstŏr*
74	*courāstari*	*čouryāstŏr*	*čourāstŏr*
75	*pañcāstari*	*poñcŏstŏr*	*poñcāstŏr*
76	*śyāstari*	*syāstŏr*	*sāstŏr*
77	*satyāstari*	*sŏvāstŏr* or *sattyāstŏr*	*sŏtāstŏr*
78	*athyāstari*	*āṭṭyāstŏr*	*āṭhāstŏr*
79	*ekuṇaīsī*	*yēkuṇe-oīsī*	*yekuṇāśī*
80	*aīśi*	*oīśī*	*aissī*
81	*ekkyāīśi*	*yēkkyā-oīśī*	*yekāssī*
82	*byā (a) īsī*	*byā (i) śi*	*bāssi*
83	*tryā (a) īśī*	*t (r) yāiśī*	*tryāssi*
84	*čouryāīśī*	*čoveŏiśī*	*čourāssi*
85	*pañcyā (a) īśī*	*poñčveoiśī*	*poñcāssi*
86	*seaīśī*	*sŏ-ŏiśī*	*sāssi*
87	*sattyāīśī*	*sŏttyāoiśī*	*sŏtāssi*
88	*aṭṭhāīśī*	*ŏṭṭyā-oīśī*	*oṭṭhāssi*
89	*ekūṇnavvada*	*yēkuṇenōvōd*	*yēkuṇāṇōi*

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
90	*navvada or ṇav-vada* or *ṇavvi*	*nōvod*	*ṇōi*
91	*ekyaṇavvi*	*yēkanōvōd*	*yekāṇōi*
92	*byāṇavvi*	*byā-nōvōd*, °*-ṇōi*	*bāṇōi*
93	*tryāṇavvi*	*tryānovoi*	*tryāṇōi*
94	*couryāṇavvi*	*čovyānovoi*	*čourāṇoi*
95	*pañcyaṇavvi*	*pāñcanovoi*	*pōncōṇoi*
96	*śeṇṇavvi*	*sōvānovoi*	*sāṇōi*
97	*sattaṇavvi*	*sōttyānovoi*	*sātāṇōi*
98	*aṭṭhyaṇavvi*	*ŏṭṭyanovoi*	*āṭhānōi*
99	*navvyaṇavvi*	*novanōi* or *yekuṇesembhor*	*novaṇōi*
100	*śemb(h)ari*	*sembōr*	*śembōr*
200	*donśi*	*donśi*	*donśi*
300	*tinśi*	*tinśi*	*tinśi*
1000	*hajara*	*hăjār* or *sās*	*sŏsrō* or *hŏjāru*
10000	*lakṣa* or ns. *lāka*	*lāk*	*lākhya*

N.B. For x. I have taken the forms with a slightly modernized transcription from Father MAFFEI's *Grammar*, and for nx. from the Appendix to Father STEPHEN's *Arte da linga Canarin* -2nd. ed. p. 175 et seq.

§ 230. As in Marāṭhī the numerals for "one" to "four" are included among the adjectives and so declined. They are used both in the direct as well as oblique cases. But in so doing they get an extended form in *-ya*: *do-ga*, *ti-ga*, *cou-ga*, and for "one" the extension in *-ḷo*: *ek-ḷo*, *-ḷi*.

§ 231. s. gs. *ēku*, *eki*, *eka*, x. nx. gx. *yēk*, Sk. *eka*, Pk. *ĕkkā-* *ēga-*, *ca*, the last losing its characteristic consonant, which explains the more common form *ekka-* from which all NIA languages have derived their forms. The *y-* in the Christian dialects is due to prothesis. The characteristic *-e* beginning of OIA and MIA is preserved in Konkaṇī *ikrā* in the reduced form *i-*, in opposition to Mar. *akrā*.

§ 232. s. gs. *dōni*, x. nx. gx. g. *dōn*: Sk. *dvi-* in MIA *donni* (on the analogy of Sk. *tri-*: MIA *tinni*). The *-o-* of this numeral is due to palatalization in the Sk. form *dvau*.

On the other hand Sk. *dvā* in composition has given rise to NIA *bā-*: K. *bārā*, Ap. *bāraha*, Sk. *dvā-daśa*.

For "one and a half" we have s. gs. *dēḍu, dēḍi*, x. nx. gx. *deḍ*: Sk. *dvy- ardha*, MIA *di(y/v)aḍḍha*.

Remarkable enough is the form *bî* (Sk. *dvitīyā*: MIA *bīyā*) for the "second day of the lunar fortnight".

§ 233. s. gs. *tīni*, x. nx. gx. g. *tĩn*: Sk. *trīṇi*, MIA *tiṇṇi*. In the numeral for "thirteen" Sk. *trayo-daśa* we get Koṅk. *te-* from Sk. *traya-*, and so on for the higher numbers with the unit "three". With "fortythree" onwards we get the Sanskritised form *tre-* by the side of *te-*.

For "two and a half" we have a s. gs. *aḍḍeča*, x. gx. nx. *oḍeč* or even *aḍej* from Sk. *ardha-*tṛtya* (*tṛ-tīya*): MIA *aḍḍhā-icca*.

§ 234. s. gs. *c(y)āri* x. gx. nx. g. *cār* point to a MIA form like *ca(ẏ)āri* or PIA **catāri*. On the difficulty of this form from Sk. *catvāri*: Pk. *cattāri* see *La langue marathe*, § 216, pp. 216-17. Ordinarily Koṅkaṇī should have corresponded with the dento-alveolar affricate *č-* to Sk. *c-* followed by a back-vowel, but in this case as well as in *cāḷīs(a)* we get the palato-alveolar *c-*. On the other hand the dento-alveolar is seen in *čoudā*, and in *čou-* as the unit in higher numerals, regularly derived from Sk. *catur-*.

§ 235. In the forms *do-ga, tī-ga, čuo-ga*, x. *dog, tĩg, čoug* masc., *dōgi, tīgi* and *čougi* fem. the *-ga* corresponds to Mar. *-gha* as in *do-ghe, do-ghī, do-ghẽ*. This shows that the *ur*-form is *-*ggha-a* in MIA which may possibly go back to Sk. *-graha-*: MIA *-(g)ghaa-, *-(g)gha-a-;* compare for instance Sk. *tri-graha* "extending to (the length of) three". The aspiration shifting the initial syllable in Sk. *grah-* as found in Pk. *gheppaī* is characteristic of its derivatives in Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī, the latter, however, losing it if the aspiration occurs non-initially.

§ 236. In s. gs. there is a second addition to the forms quoted above: *-jaṇa*. Thus we have *dog-jaṇa, teg-jaṇa, čoug-*

jaṇa, etc., meaning "two, three, four." This can also be added on to the other numerals: *pāñcā-jaṇa*, *sa-jaṇa*, etc.

§ 237. s. gs. *pā̃ñca*, x. *pā̃ñč*, *pā̃ñj*, nx. gx. *pā̃ñč*: Sk. *pañca*. The x. form *pā̃ñj* reminds us of the N-W. forms like Panjabi *pā̃ñj*. It is interesting to note that whereas in the numeral for "five" we have the regular Koṅkanī development from the Sk. group short vowel + nasal + consonant, viz. the long vowel (nasalized or not) + nasal + consonant, in the numbers from "fifteen" onwards the word in composition is *pañč* (x. nx. gx. *pŏñč*) or *pan-* (x. gx. *pŏn-*).

In the numeral for "fifteen" as in "fifty" the Sk. *pañca* has undergone special development: s. gs. *pandrā*, x. *pondrā*, gx. *ponrā*, and s. gs. *ponnāsa*, x. *ponas*, gx. *pŏnas*. See § 217. p. 217 of *La langue marathe*.

§ 238. For "three and a half" s. ns. g. etc. show a form *aūṭa* going back to Sk. *ardha-*tūrtha*, MIA *addha-uṭṭha*, Ap. *addh-uṭṭha-*, *āhuṭṭa*, corresponding to Mar. *aūṭ* and Guj. *ūṭhu*.

Numbers above this are formed by adding *sāḍ(h)e-* to the integer just below: *sāḍe-tīni* "three and a half", *sāḍe-cāri* "four and a half", etc.

§ 239. s. gs. *sa*, x. nx. gx. *so*: Sk. *ṣaṭ*, MIA *cha*. In "forty-six" we get s. gs. *savv-e-* and x. gx. *soṽ-e* with *cāḷ(is)*. The *-e-* appears to be Persian in origin. Cf. *aṣṭ-e-cāḷ(is)* etc. In s. gs. *chappanna* the *cha-* is characteristic as in *chattīsa* "thirtysix, for which x. has *soupon* and gx. *sopon*, and x *sottis* and gx. *setīs*.

The other forms having "six" in the unit place are more or less influenced by the corresponding Marāṭhi forms which may be referred to in *La langue marathe*, p. 218.

§ 240. The other numbers up to "nine" do not offer much difficulty. They are quite general to the whole IA group. Only in the case of "nine" we have both dental and cerebral forms: *navva*, *ṇavva*; cerebralisation here seems due to the fact that initial *n-* of *novva* is assimilated to the *-ṭ(a)* of *āṭ(a)*. This also explains the double forms x. *nōi*, gx. nx. *ṇōi* for "Ninety".

§ 241. In the numerals for "ten" and above s. gs. *dhā*: Sk. *daśa* becomes *-raha* in Apabhraṁśa: *ekkāraha, bāraha,* etc. giving us in Koṅkaṇī *-rā*: *ikrā, bārā,* etc. Only in s. gs. *dasro* (Mar. *dasrā*) does the original *daśa* survive. In s. gs. *coudā* and *soḷā* the survival of *-d-* and *-ḷ-* is due to MIA *-dd-* and *-ḍ-* or *-ḷ-*.

§ 242. To express numbers containing "nine" in the unit's place the form "less than one", e.g. s. gs. *ekuṇ* (in "nineteen" however *ikṇ-*<*ikᵘṇ-*), x. nx. gx. *yēkuṇe*: Sk. *ekona-,* is use with the multiples of "ten".

For the other numerals full etymology will be given in my *Comparative Glossary* with comparative notes. It is sufficient to note here that in the case of "seventy" *sattari,* we get in composition a form like *stari*: *byāstari,* etc. For x. *nöi,* gx. *ṇōi,* s. gc. *ṇavvī* in addition to x. *noved,* g. gs. *ṇavvada* we have to refer on the one hand to Mar. *navvad* and on the other to Panj. Hindi *navve,* Sindhi *nave,* Beng. *nabbai,* Oriya *nabe* etc.

§ 243. In the case of "thousand" we have both *sosro* or *hajār* as borrowed from Persian (see Fr. STEPHENS, *op. cit.* § 81 and Appendix p. 180).

Fractions of a quarter more or less are respectively expressed by s. gs. *savāi,* x. nx. gx. *sŏvāi* and s. gs. *pāūṇe,* x. gx. nx. *pāūṇ* added to the nearest integer, deriving from Sk. *sapāda-* and *pādona-*.

Ordinals

§ 244. Beginning with the numeral for "five" Koṅkaṇī forms its ordinals by the addition of the suffix *-vo*: *pānč-vo, sāt-vo, aṭ(h)-vo* etc. For the first four numerals, however, as in Sanskrit, we have different formations for the ordinals.

The origin of *-vŏ* is to be traced to Sk. *-ma(ka)*: *pañcama(ka)-* etc.

For the first four numbers we have the cardinals as follows: s. gs. *pailo, dusro, tisro, čoutho,* x. nx. gx. *pŏilŏ, dusrŏ, tisrŏ* etc.

s. gs. *pailo*, x. nx. gx. *poilo*, goes back to late MIA *pahilla -ka*, OIA **prath-illaka* cf. Sk. *pratha-ma*. Besides these forms Koṅkaṇī uses the word *surve-čo* n. nx. gx. *ād-lo*, etc. meaning "belonging to the beginning, first, foremost."

The words *du-sro*, *ti-sro* show a suffix in MIA **-sara-a* (in flexion **-sara-o*). In this connection reference may be made to CHATTERJI, *op. cit.*, p. 700 and SAKSENA, *Evolution of Awadhi*, p. 156.

s. gs. *čou-tho* corresponds to Sk. *catur-tha-ka*.

PRONOUNS

§ 245. The history of the pronouns in any NIA language shows an interesting development, for here the phonetic weakness of the words is most marked, and in consequence new forms have to be introduced in order to make the meaning or intention of the speaker clear to the audience. Among the chief characteristics we may mention the preservation of the initial syllable intact, having relation to one or other of the OIA or MIA forms. The disintegration of the sound elements in these cases is characteristic of the frequency of employment.

Personal Pronouns

§ 246. The personal pronouns of the first and second person show a considerable variety of forms in MIA. In Koṅkaṇī however, as in other NIA languages, the forms show a simplicity of pattern, and are closely allied to nominal flexion.

First Person Pronoun

§ 247. The forms are:

	sing	plur
Direct	s. gs. *hāv* (*ā*). x. *āū*, gx. *hāv* (*ā*)	s. gs. *āmī*, x. *āmī*, gx. *āmi*
Oblique	s. gs. *mā* x. gx. *mā*	s. gs. x. gx. *ām*

But the variety of forms we get for individual cases should be noted here.

For instru. we have s. gs. *hãvẽ*, x. *āvẽ*, in addition to *majjāṇẽ*, gx. (Arte § 106) *mājyān*, in the sing. and s. gs. *āmmī*, *ām- cyāṇẽ*, gx. *āmcyān*, in the plur.

For the genitive we have s. gs. *majjẽ* (gs. *mejjẽ*), n. nx. gx. *mojẽ*, *moj̃o* in the sing.

The dir. *hãv(a)* goes back to Sk. *ahakam* (already *hage* in Magadhī) and *āmmī* to Sk. *asmebhiḥ*: Pk. *amhehiṁ*.

The Instr. *hãv-ẽ* regularly corresponds to Sk. *ahakena*, i.e., as if *hãv* itself form the base from which the inst. in *-ẽ* is derived.

The gen. *majjẽ* corresponds to Sk. *mahyam*, Pk. *majjham*, with the *-ka-* extension, used regularly in the genitive sense (see e.g. the form *mahyam pitā* in the *Mahābhārata*).[11]

The extended form in *majjāṇẽ*, *mājyān* follows regularly from the adjectival nature of the genitive form, which is really an adjective of appertinance. This applies equally to the plural form quoted above.

The postpositions are regularly applied as in the case of nouns, except in the case of forms quoted above. Thus *ām-kā*, *ām-cẽ*, *ām-gēr*, *ām-gelo* etc. in the plur, and *mā-kā*, *ma-gelo*, *ma-gēr* etc. in the last two of which the vowel of the oblique sing. is reduced The postposition *-ēr* is applied to the gen. form *majje-* as s. *majjēri*, x. *mojēr*.

Second Person Pronoun

§ 248. The forms are:

	sing	plur
Direct	s. gs. *tũ̃*, nx. x. gx. *tũ̃*	s. gs. *tummî*, x. nx. gx. *tumī*
Oblique	s. gs. x. nx. gx. *tu*	s. gs. x. nx. gx. *tum*.

11. I am indebted to Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR for the reference below: Crit. Edn. 1.47.5:

yathā tena pitā mahyam pūrvaṁ dagdho viṣāgninā
(v. l. *pitāsmākam; pitā me tu*)

For the instr. corresponding to *hǎvẽ* we have *tūvẽ* or *tũvẽ*, formed directly from the direct base.

For the gen. we have *tujjẽ* x. nx. gx. *tuje* in the sing. The extended instr. *tujjāṇẽ*, or gx. *tujyāṁ* is regularly formed from this base.

The direct *tũ* goes back to Sk *t(u)vám*, Pk. *tumaṁ*, and the plur. *tummi* traces its origin to OIA **tuṣmebhih*, MIA *tumhehiṁ*.

The gen. form goes back regularly to MIA *tujjha-* based on the analogy of *majjha-*.

As in the above case of the first person pronoun, the postpositions are applied to the second person pronoun also, and similar inflected forms result.

Third Person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun

§ 249. While the first and second person pronouns separate themselves from the ordinary group of adjectives in not having different forms for the three genders, the other pronouns agree with this class by having separate forms for the three genders.

	sing.		plur.	
Direct	masc. *to*, fem. *tī*, neut. *tẽ*		masc. *te*, fem. *tyo*, neut *tī*	
Oblique	masc. neut.	*tā*, fem. *ti*	masc. neut. fem.	*tā*

Thus the distinction between masc. and neut. is only in the direct case, and between masc. and fem. in the direct sing. and plur. and oblique sing. only. The regular postpositions apply to oblique forms given above, as in the case of substantives or adjectives.

The origin of the direct forms is to be traced to the oblique in OIA and MIA forms *tasya* : *tassa* from which the regular oblique forms are obtained. The *-o* of the masc. form and the *-ẽ* of the neut. show that all the Koṅkaṇī forms derive from the *-ka-* extension of the corresponding OIA forms.

As in all modern IA languages the third person is also used as the remote demonstrative pronoun for which there are no separate forms. It is also used as the correlative pronoun.

Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun

§ 250. The forms are:

	sing.	plur.
Direct	masc. *ho*, fem. *hī* neut. *hẽ*	masc. *he*, fem. *hyo*, neut. *hī̃*
Oblique	masc. neut. *hā*, fem. *hi*	masc. fem. neut. *hã̄*

As above, these forms derive from the *-ka-* extension of OIA *ēṣa-*, or more possibly from Vedic *asakaú*.

All the postpositions employed with nouns are also used with this pronoun.

Relative Pronoun

§ 251. The relative pronoun *jo, jī, jẽ* (Sk. *ya-ka-*) gives the following scheme:

	sing.	plur.
Direct	masc. *jo*, fem. *jī*, neut. *jẽ*	masc. *je*, fem. *jye*, neut. *jī̃*
Oblique	masc. neut. *jā*, fem. *ji*	masc. fem. neut. *jã̄*

Father Stephens (*Arte*, § 91) records for the fem. obl. plur. the form *jī̃* (i.e. in his transcription: *zī̃*).

§ 252. Father Stephens (*Arte*, § 93) quotes also the following oblique forms:

	sing.	plur.
to	fem. *tie*. neut. *teā*	fem. *tia*, nasc. neut. *tea*
	masc.	
ho	fem. *hie*. masc. neut. *hya*	fem. *hia*, masc. neut. *heā*
zo	fem. *zie*, masc, neut. *zea*	fem. *zi* masc. neut. *zea*

Interrogative Pronoun

§ 253. The forms are:

	sing.	plur.
Direct	masc. *kōṇu*, fem. *kōṇi*, neut. *koṇa*	masc. f. neut. *koṇa*
Oblique	masc. *koṇā*	masc. f. neut. *koṇā*

For the Instrumental we have for all genders and numbers the form *koṇ-ẽ*.

Observe that the difference in gender so far as this pronoun is concerned is the least, now surviving in the direct case only in s. gs. and old gx. as given by Father STEPHENS. In all other dialects the distinction is lost.

The origin of this form is to be traced to Apabhraṁśa *kavaṇu*. On its cognates in Pāli and other languages see *L'indo-aryen* p. 202.

Reflexive Pronoun

§ 254. The forms noticed are:

	sing.		plur.	
Direct	s. gs.: m. f. n.	*āp(p)ana*	s. gs. m. f. n.	*āp(p)aṇa*
	x. nx.	*āpuṇ*	x. nx.	*āpuṇ*
	gx.	*āpaṇa* or *āpoṇ*		*āpaṇa* or *āpoṇ*
Oblique	s. gs. x. nx.	*āpṇā*	s. gs. nx. x	*āpṇā̃*
	gx.	*āpṇyā*	gs.	*āpṇyā̃*

For the instrumental sing. form, we have, in addition to the usual pronominal form *āpṇẽ*, *āpṇā-nẽ*.

For the genitive we have two types of the *-lo* forms: *āpṇā-lo* and *āp-lo*.

Like cognate forms in all NIA languages Koṅkaṇī *āp(p)aṇa* is derived from Sk. *ātman*, Pk. *appā*,[12] *attā* through the genitive in MIA *appaṇo* in sing. and *appāṇam* in the plur.

Pronominal adjectives

§ 255. From the relative, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns we have the following adjectives: *jɨ-lo*, *it-lo*, *titlo* and *kit-lo*.

12. MIA *appa-* is to be traced to the *abhinidhāna* doctrine of the Prātiśākhyas which gives the insertion of the stop corresponding to the nasal in group stop + nasal. Thus Sk. *ātman* must have been pronounced as **ātpman* > **ātpman* > MIA *appa*.—

Koṅkaṇī s. gs. *keddo* x. gx. nx. *kēdo* corresponds to Marāṭhī *kevḍhā*, deriving from MIA *kevaḍḍhaa-* (cf. *L'indo-aryen*, p. 203).

Similar to *jitlo, tit-lo, kitlo* and *itlo* we have s. gs. *jas-lo, taslo, kaslo* and *aslo.*

CONJUGATION

§ 256. The verbal system of Koṅkaṇī, like the nominal system, is based largely on a simplification of the OIA and MIA systems, both in phonology as well as in morphology. Already in Sanskrit the Subjunctive had disappeared and the complex Vedic morphology of the verbs into the present, perfect and aorist systems with model forms was limited only to the present system. But certain features lost in the classical Sanskrit stage were preserved in the early MIA dialects, and these archaisms are seen in many NIA languages in the North-West of India. For these survivals see *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 237-38. The nominal phrase system had already replaced the earlier Vedic verbal system in the Epic age under favourable circumstances and the only living system of the verbal forms consisted of the Indicative of the present and future and the Imperative of the present.

As a result of this gradual change the NIA verbal system is based on two groups of forms. (1) a group which may properly be called the verbal group, reposing on the present system of OIA and (2) a group comprising nominal forms more or less dependent on the above group.

For a general survey of the verbal themes in Marāṭhi see Jules Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, § 228 ff. (pp. 225ff) and for New-Indo-Aryan, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 238ff.

Themes

§ 257. The MIA verbal themes depend on the following two systems of OIA: 1° The present system on which is based the present and future indicative, the present imperative, the present participle and the infinitive; 2° The past passive participle.

§ 258. The roots of Koṅkaṇī are either active or passive in sense, the passive being intransitive and the active being transitive. Roots have a simple as well as a causal form. The three sources of the verbal bases are; (a) Present active bases, (b) Present passive bases and (c) Past passive participles of OIA.

§ 259. As in Marāṭhī (*La langue marathe*, § 329) only two verbs in Koṅkaṇī have conserved traces of the old alternance between the strong and weak stems: *mar-tā, kar-tā*: *me-llo, ke-llo*. On this analogy other themes derived from OIA bases in *-ṛ-* show similar alternance: s. gs. (*vhartā*): ***vhello-*** **(OIA *apa-hṛ-*).**

Elsewhere the opposition between the themes is maintained by suppletism:

s. gs. *va-ttā*, inf. *vocūka* "to go" (OIA *vṛ-tya-*)	ppp. *ge-llo* (OIA *gata-*)
s. gs. *āsūka* "to be" (Sk. *ākṣeti*)[13]	*jā-llo* (*jāta-*)

§ 260. When the Koṅkaṇī theme is based on an earlier verbal base, it is generally that of the present. Of the traces of the different classes of verbal bases we have themes with the suffixes *-a-*: *khā-uṁk* (*khādati*), *khaṇ-uṁk* (*khaṇati*), *mor-uṁk* (*marate*), *baisūk* (*upa-viśati*), etc.

Themes with the suffix *-aya-*: s. gs. *uḍḍūka* (*uḍḍayati*), *kāppūka* (*kalpayati*), *cābbūka* (*carvayati*), *māggūka* (*mārgayati*), etc. In general all causatives belong to this class.

Themes with the suffix *-ya-*: s. gs. *ubjatā* (*ut-padyate*), *nāṁcūka* (*nṛtyati*), ns. ngs. *mānnūka* (*manyate*), etc. Under this category come all the passive verbs of OIA: s. gs. *dissūka* (*dṛśyate*), *voccūka* (**vṛtyate*), etc.

Themes with a nasal: s. gs. *jāṇ-tā* (*jānāti*); *bānd-tā* (*bandhati, badhnāti*), *vind-tā* (MIA *vindha-i*, OIA *vyadh-*), *śindūka* (MIA *chinda-i*, OIA *chid-*).

13. BSOS, 8. 795-812.

In the case of s. gs. *bhettūka* (OIA *bhettum*) we have a base deriving from the infinitive, just as in *ǰāgaytā* (OIA *ǰāgrat-*) we have one from the present participle.

§ 261. A very large number of Koṅkaṇī verbal bases are derived from the past passive participle of OIA: s. gs. *bhāg-ūka, bhāgg-ūka* (*bhagna-*), *lāggūka* (*lagna-* or *lagyate*) *sukk-ūka* (*ṣuṣka-*), *kāḍ-ūka* (OIA *kṛṣṭa-*: MIA *kaḍḍha-*), *ghāṭ-ūka* (*ghṛṣṭa-*) etc.

Some of these, like s. gs. *lāgg-ūka,* may be derived alternatively from the present passive base or the past passive participle, but in the active voice. A majoriy of these verbs are intransitive in nature, but a few exceptions like *kāḍ-ūka, ghāṭ-ūka* are transitive in character.

§ 262. From the nature of its derivation many a verbal theme shows a semantic gradation: s. gs. *ghāṭ-tā* "churns" in opposition to *ghās-tā* "polishes". Similarly *mar-tā* (*marate*) "dies" in opposition to *mār-tā* (*mārayati*) "beats".

§ 263. The causatives are formed in several ways. The example quoted in the preceding paragraph shows an exceptional formation with a definite semantic change in the root meaning itself and cannot be brought under the system of causative formation in Koṅkaṇī. The chief characteristic is the *-aya-* morpheme which becomes *-ava-* in the infinitive formation, added on to the simple forms.

1°. With *vṛddhi* of the radical vowel of the simple root and the morpheme *-aya-*: s. gs. *paḍ-tā*: *pāḍay-tā* (OIA *patati*, MIA *paḍa-i*); naturally the *vṛddhi* affects only the radical *-a-*.

2°. By the simple addition of the *-aya-* morpheme without any change in the radical vowel: *bas-tā*: *basay-tā* (*upa-viśati*); *mār-tā*: *māray-tā* (*mārayati*); *kar-tā*: *karay-tā* (*karoti*: *kārayati*); *čor-ta*: *čoray-tā* (OIA *corayati*), *tuk-tā*: *tukkay-tā* (*tulayati*), *viktā*: *vikay-tā* (*vikṛ-*).

3°. In a few cases the morpheme *-aya-* is replaced by the Sanskrit causal base of *kṛ-*: *kāraya-*: *-bas-tā, basay-tā*: *bas-kāray-tā* (*upa-viśati*); *nidd-a-tā, niddā-y-tā*: *nid-kāray-tā;*

uṭ (ṭ) āy-t-ā: *uṭ–kāraytā*: in this case we have already the *–aya–* morpheme in the simplex, and the causative is formed with the morpheme *-kāraya-* added on to the original radical *uṭ-* (Sk. *utthā-*, Pk. *uṭṭhā-*). Similarly we have s. gs. *ubravā*: *ubra-kāray-tā*, "sands": "causes to stand".

4°. In the case of themes ending in vowels in MIA and Koṅkaṇī, we have the morpheme *-vaya-* instead of *-aya-*: s. gs. *khā-ttā*: *khā-vay-tā* (*khād-*); *pi–ttā*; *pi–vay–tā* (OIA *piba–*: MIA *pia–*).

5°. Father Maffei (p. 133) says that of the verbs ending in *ñ* (i.e. in our system *v* through OIA *-m-*) some are made causative by adding *-ḍāi* and changing the *ñ* into *n*: gx. x. *dāuñ* "to run": *dāuṇḍāi* "cause to run". This statement is due to misunderstanding the nature of the verbal themes. In such cases we have denominatives from nominal extensions of the primitive verbal bases. Thus s. gs. *dhāvtā*: *dhāvay-ta* (rather a rare formation) may be opposed to s. gs. *dhāv-ḍā-y-tā* which is a denominative of s. gs. *dhāvaṇḍi* f. the act of running. It has nothing to do with the morpheme *-āḍ-*[14] of Gujaratī or *-ār-* of Sindhi. The suffix *-vaṇḍi* (Sk. **vrnda–ka*, **vrnd–i–kā*) is similarly added to OIA *bhram-*, s. gs. *bhõv-* and we have *bho-vaṇḍi* "the act of moving round, walking, strolling," whence are derived Kon. *bhõv-tā*, *bhõv-ay-ta*, *bhõvḍā-y-tā*. The denominative feature of the examples quoted above are beyond suspicion.

6°. A few verbs borrowed from Kanarese follow the Kannaḍa pattern for causal formation: s. gs. *baraitā*: *barsuy-tā*; old gx. (Fr. Stephens, § 119) gives on this pattern the OIA verb *bhogtā bhŏgŏssita* corresponding to s. gs. *bhog-tā*: *bhoggay–tā*.

14. In s. gs. *bhittā*, ex. *bhiyetā*: *bhisdātyā* we have perhaps the same phenomenon as in Gujarati and Sindhi, for the nominal form is s. gs. *bhidi*. This is probably a borrowing in Koṅkaṇī. Again in the s. gs. forms *pind-tā*: *pin-drāy-tā* we have the morpheme *-rāy-*, i.e., **-ar-āya-* (< **karāya-*).

§ 264. In such cases where the simplex itself is in appearance a causative, e.g. s. gs. *jāg-ay-ta* "awakens," we have the true simplex in a derived form: *jāgi jattā* "wakes up."

In the formation of the causative bases above I have given the normal indicative present form instead of the usual infinitive to understand better the morpheme which transforms the simple base into the causative. RANGEL in his *Gramatica da Lingua Concani* prefers to treat in a very meagre and cursory fashion (p. 172, §§ 318, 319) the denominatives and causatives, and gives the infinitive ending *-unc, –onc,* (our *–uṁk* or *–oṁk*) for denominatives and *ounc* (our *-oumk*) for causatives. Other grammars of Koṅkaṇī also use the infinitive forms to illustrate the derivation of themes.

§ 265. The regularising prcess in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī may be illustrated very well indeed by a study of these causal formations. A few examples will suffice here. Corresponding to the first type of causatives in new Indo-Aryan which is characterised by the *gunating* of the radical vowel (see *L'indo-aryen,* p. 242) we have Hindi, Marāṭhī, Kashmiri *mar-* "to die": *mār-* "to beat" found also in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī. But in the following cases we have the regular forms:

Mar. *tuṭ-nẽ*: *toḍ-ṇẽ* corresponds to s. gs. *thuṁṭ-tā*: *thuṁṭ–ay–tā.*

Hindi *chuṭ-nā*: *choṛ-nā* corresponds to s. gs. *suṭ-tā*: *suṭṭ–ay–ta.*

Similarly corresponding to the second type of causatives (*L'indo-aryen,* p. 244) we have in

Hindi *sukh-nā*: *sukhā-nā* but in Konk. s. gs. *suk-tā*: *sukk-ay-tā*

pak-nā: *pakā-nā* *pik–tā*: *pikk–ay–tā*

bāj-nā: *bajā-nā* *vāǰ-tā*: *vāǰǰay–ta*

etc.

Thus both types have merged in Koṅkaṇī and examples like *paḍ-tā*: *pāḍ-ay-ta* are rather illustrations of the two processes coming together for normalizing the causative formation.

Flexion

§ 266. It is interesting to note here that s. gs. have simplified greatly the regular flexion of verbs corresponding to the Christian dialects. Instead of the distinct personal desinences belonging to the three persons s. gs. have generalized them into a normal form for the plural and two only for the singular-first: second-third.

The Present Indicative or Historic Present in Koṅkaṇī dialects

§ 267. The desinences of OIA for the present indicative have survived up to the new Indo-Aryan stage giving us the normal inflexion in the new IA speech. The following table to correspondences of these desinences will make their connexion clear:

	OIA	MIA	Apabhraṁśa	Koṅkaṇī
Sing. 1	*-āṃi*	*-āmi*	*-āmi, -avi, -aũ*	*-ā* (s. gs. x. nx.gx.)
2	*-asi*	*-asi*	*-asi, -ahi*	gx. *-āsi*, x. mgx. *-āi*
3	*-ati*	*-aï*		*-ā* (s. gs. x. nx. gx.)
Plur. 1	*-āmaḥ* (*āmo*)	*-amo*	*-ahũ*	x. nx. gx. *-āũ*, s. gs. *āti*
2	*-atha*	*-aha*	*-aha, -ahu*	ogx. *-āṭh*, x.-nx. *-āt* gs. *-āti*
3	*-anti*	*-anti*	*-anti, ahī*	ogx. s. gs. *-āti*, n. nx.

Thus we have in Koṅkaṇī:

	Sing.	Plur.
1	x. nx. gx. *zātā*, s. gs. *jat (t) ā*	x. nx. gx. *zātā* s. gs. *jāt (t) āti*
2	ogx. *zōtāsi*, x. nx. gx. *zātāi*, s. gs. *jāt (t) ā*	ogx. *zātāṭh*, x. nx. gx. *zātāt*, s. gs. *jāt (t) āti*
3	x. nx. gx. *zātā*, s. gs. *jāt (t) ā*	ogx. *zātāti*, s.gs. *jātāti*, x. nx. gx. *zātāt*

From the root meaning "to be" we have:

	Sing.	Plur.
1	gx. x. nx *āsā*, s. gs. *āssa*	x. nx. gx. *āsāu*, s. gs. *āssati*
2	ogx. *āsāsi*, x. nx. gx. *āsai*, s. gs. *āssa*	ogx. *āsāt (h)*, x. nx. gx. *āsāt*, s. gs. *āssati*
3	gx. x. nx. *āsā*, s. gs. *āssa*	ogx. *āsāti*, s. gs. *āssati*, x. nx. gx. *āsāt*

§ 268. From the two examples quoted above we see clearly both the relationship and the difference between Koṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī. In old Mărāṭhī the desinences are directly added to the verbal base in opposition to the participial base of modern Marāṭhī in *-t*. In Koṅkaṇī, already during Father Stephen's time, the participial base in *-t* had replaced the regular base, and the desinences were added to this base. The only partial exception to this is the root "to be", s. gs. *āssūka,* x. nx. gx. *āsuṁk,* in the singular where the direct root is adjoined to the terminations.

In the plural formation we have for the first person gx. nx. *āstāũ* in addition to *āsāu,* s. gs. *āstāti* in addition to *āssati;* these alternative forms show continuity of action in addition to the present indicative sense. In the case of all other verbal bases the participial theme replaces the simple indicative base of the present. Alternatively if a *t-* be affixed to the desinences quoted in the preceding article, we get the desinences of the present added to the simple root.

§ 269. *Notes on the Desinēnces of the present.* — From the phonological point of view there is some difficulty in explaining the first person sing. and plur. terminations. A possible suggestion has been made by Jules Bloch (*L'indo-aryen,* p. 247) that these may have been affected by the pronoũn of the first person *haũ.* Thus Koṅkaṇī *-ã* is connected with Panjabi and Sindhi *-ã,* resulting perhaps from the premature dropping of the final *-i* of OIA *-āmi* (*La langue marathe,* § 236, p. 234). For a slightly parallel but different explanation see Louis H. Gray: Observations on Middle Indian Phonology, *BSOS.,* 8. 567ff.

In the second person sing. gx. *-āsi* or *asi* we have the survival of OIA and MIA *-asi,* whereas in x. mod. gx. nx. *-āi* (**-a-ai*) we have the Apabhraṁśa ending *-ahi.* Similarly in the plur. form old gx. of Father Stephens preserves the archaic *-atha,* lost elsewhere. The x. nx. mod. gx. s. gs. *-āt (i)* for the second person is clearly taken over from the third person plural form. In s. gs. this has replaced both the first and second person endings.

The participial themes of Koṅkaṇī differ from the corresponding themes of Marāṭhī in that the inflexion does not show any differences of gender which characterise Marāṭhī.

§ 270. For a discussion of the sense of this Present Indicative in modern IA languages see BLOCH, *La langue marathe*, § 238 (p. 236ff.).

Imperative

§ 271. The terminations of the Imperative in Koṅkaṇī are as follows:—

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	old gx. mod. gx. missing, (Maffei, p. 109) *-un-gi*	old gx. s. gs. *-ā-yā*, x. *-i-ã* old gx. *-yā*, s. gs. *-yē*, *x.*
2.	old gx. s. gs. *-i*, x, gx. nx. zero	*-e-ā*, gx. *-āt*, s. gs. *-āti.*
3.	old gx. and mod. gx. *-ũ*, x. *-ū-di* s. gs. *-o.*	old gx. *-ūnti*, mod. gx. *--ũ*, x. *-undi* s. gs. *-oti.*

Characteristically the first person imperative is never used in Koṅkaṇī dialects except in MAFFEI's Grammar in the singular, but the plūral is attested in all the dialects. The plural appears to be connected with the optative ending, cf. Pāli *vatteyyam*, *vateyamho*, °*-yyāmo*.

The second person singular in s. gs. and old gx. *-i* is connected with OIA *-(d)hi*, which has already become *-i* in Apabhraṁśa (cf. ALSDORF, *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, p. 169). The zero grade in x. nx. mod. gx. represents the OIA and MIA *-a* as in *gaccha*. The old gx., s. gs. *-yā* is in analogy with the first person plural form, the nasalisation disappearing naturally, being connected only with the first person.

The third person sing. old and mod. gx. *-ũ*, s. gs. *-o* is derived from OIA *-atu*, MIA *-au*. The nasalisation in the Christian dialects perhaps derives from the plural *-antu* of OIA preserved by them in the form *-unt(i)*. In s. gs. *oti* we find reminiscences of Marāṭhī *-ot*, *-ūt*, see *La langue marathe*, p. 237.

§ 271. The desinences of the Future in Koṅkaṇī are as follows:—

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	old gx. s. gs. *-īna*, x. *-ăn*, gx. *-in*.	old gx. *-ū*, s. gs. *-ũ*, gx. *-īũ*.
2.	old gx. *-iśi*, s. gs. *śi*, x. nx. gx. *-śi*.	old gx. *-śāṭha*, s. gs. x. nx. gx. *-śāt*, *-śyāt*, old gx. *śyāthā*.
3.	old gx. s. gs. *-īta*, x. *-ăt*, gx. *-īt*.	old gx. *-īti*, s. gs. , x. nx. gx. *-tīt*.

Notes on the terminations:—1° sing.: *-īn(a)* corresponds to Marāṭhī *-īn*, and x. *-ăn* corresponds to Mar. *-en;* the final *-n* is believed to be *-l* after a nasal vowel, Bloch, *La langue marathe*, §§ 72, 240, a *-l* which characterises the entire future formation in Marāṭhī. The plur. *-ũ*, is seen also in the present indicative and imperative, is parallel to Marāṭhī development, depending partly upon the confusion existing between these three senses and partly upon the absolutive form in *-unu*.

2° sing.: the *-i* form of Mar. is conspicuous here by its absence, as in the remaining persons, but resembles the Mar. form in other respects. The plur. is quite regularly formed from the sigmatic future of OIA with present termination.

3° sing.: x. *ăt*, gx. *-īt* and old gx. s. gs. *-īta*, though allied to Mar. terminations, sing. *-atīl*, plur. *-itil*, present some difficulty. The plur. differs from the sing. by the participial *-t*.

§ 272. In addition to the forms studied above Koṅkaṇī gives a second type of future formation based upon the present participle. Father Stephens, § 152: *soditālō*, Father Maffei, p. 108: *nidto-lo*, Rangel, p. 113: *kāḍtolo*, etc. showing the present participle *t* + personal endings or suffixes (masc., fem. or neut.). This usage is current in all Koṅkaṇī dialects: s. gs. *hăva vat-lõ* masc. *vat-tlĩ* fem. "I shall go".

§ 273. Father Stephens, § 154, gives another future formation: *havẽ*, (*tuvẽ*, *tānnẽ*), jarí *sodisso*, *-ĩ*, *-ẽ*, but its usage is not clear. The contingent future mentioned by Father Maffei, p. 108, *nid-lo-āstolõ*, corresponds s. gs. *niddata-śīlõ* which is in effect *middat-āśśilõ*, "I would have slept, I might

have slept". Other forms are in effect not simple but compound tenses used in modern Indo-European languages of India or Europe.

Imperfect or Past

§ 274. The terminations of the Past are as follows:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing. 1	s. gs. x. gx. *-lo*,	s. gs. x. gx. *-lī*	s. gs. x. gx. *-lē*.
2	s. gs. *-lo*, x. *-loi*, gx. *-losi*;	,, *-lī*	s. gs. *-lē*, x. *lēī*.
3	s. gs. x. gx. *-lo*;	s. gs. x. gx. *-lī*	s. gs. x. gx. *-lē*.
Plur. 1	s. gs. *-lī*, gx. *-lēũ*, x. *-lyāũ*;	For all genders.	
2	s. gs. *-le*, (masc.) *-lī*, gx. *-lyāth*, x. *-lyāt*;	For all genders.	
3	s. gs. x. gx. *-le*	s. gs. *-tī*, *-lyo*, s. gx. *-lyo*.	s. gs. *-lī*. x. *-lī*. gx. *-lī*.

Notes on the terminations:—The Brahmin dialects s. gs. etc. do not show any personal terminations except in the first singular *-õ* of the masculine. The Christian dialects, however, show them in the second person sing. and plur.

§ 275. The *-la* suffix goes to the MIA group of suffixes *-alla-*, *-illa-*, *-ulla-*, marking in new IA primarily the past passive participle so far as Mar. and Koṅk. are concerned. Two types are seen in Koṅkaṇī: (1) The suffixes are added on to the simple root:; x. *nid-lo*, s. gs. *nidda-lo;* (2) the suffixes are added to the participial base: x. *nid-tā-loi*, s. gs. *niddatā-lo*, old gx. *soditā-lo*, etc.

The terminations added to the simple verbal base give us the completed action, while those added to the participial base give us the durative past. The difference may easily be compared to that existing between English 'He slept' and 'He was sleeping.'

The syntactic difference between the transitive and intransitive may easily be gathered from the following examples in s. gs. *-hāva niddalõ* 'I slept,' *-°niddatā-lõ* 'I was seeking him', *hāvē tōkkā sodlo* 'I sought him out.' The entire problem will be discussed in detail in the section dealing with Syntax below. For a treatment of this subject connected with Marāṭhī see Bloch, *La langue marathe*, pp. 249-253.

§ 276. In addition to the Imperfect and Past tenses discussed above, Koṅkaṇī has a Perfect and its terminations are as follows:

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	s.gs. x. *-ta* (*m.*), *-lyā* (*f*), *-lā*, *-lē* (n.)	x. *-lyāū*, s. gs. *-lyati* (mfn.)
2.	s. gs. *-lā* (m.), *-lyā* (f.) *-lē* (*n.*) x. *-lāi* (m.) *-lyāi* (f.), *-lya*	*s. gs. -lyāti*, x. *-lyāt* (mfn.)
3.	s. gs. x. *-lā* (m), *-lyā* (f.), *-lā-lē* (n.)	s. gs. *-lyāti*, x. *-lyāt* (mf.), *-lyānt* (n).

The significance of this form may best be understood by the English equivalent 'I have loved,' 'I have done,' etc.

The origin of these terminations is the same as of the past or imperfect, the difference so far as x. dialects go being seen in the colouring of the vowel, *-o* going with the Imperfect and Past, *-ā* going with the Perfect.

§ 277. Corresponding to this Perfect, we have a Past Perfect obtained by adding the *-la* suffixes to the oblique of the past passive participle: *gello, gellelo* 'gone,' 'had gone'. The terminations for the x. dialect are given by Father Maffei on p. 88 of his Grammar. For the old gx. forms see Father Stephens, § 128, p. 39.

In the case of the Perfect the *-ā* colouring is due to contamination with present participial endings: s. gs. *kartā*, etc. Observe also that s. gs. have one form for the three plural endings, and have no terminations for the second person singular corresponding to those seen x. gx. and other Christian dialects.

Optative

§ 278. The optative forms are an interesting survival in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī, having the following terminations: — **s. gs. *-ye (da)*, x. *-iye (t)*.**

Examples: s. gs. *koryeda*, *vocyeda*, *māryeda*, etc. 'may do, may go, may beat'; x. *zāvyet*, *āssāyet*, *nid-iyet* 'may happen, may be, may sleep' in the sense of permission or allowance.

The origin of this formation which is the same for all persons and numbers in all the dialects, is to be traced to OIA *ita*, (*kurvīta*), *-ēt* (*gacchet*) etc. The *-ya-* of the optative forms is preserved in K., and the form shows an interesting semi-tatsama by preserving both characteristics of the OIA formation.

For a parallel development of a vocable compare OIA *āyatanam* with Koṅkaṇī s. gs. *āydāna*, x. gx. nx. *āidŏn*.

§ 279. The optative or potential sense may also be expressed in old gx. by the word *pūro* added to the oblique form of the past passive participle: Father Stephens, § 137: ***sodilyā pūro.***

Father Maffei gives the following forms of the potential, p. 110; (1) *nid-iyet*, (2) *nid-unk tānktā* or *nid-unk tānk āssā*, (3) *nid -ū* (or *nid-unk*) *pūro*, respectively meaning 'it is possible or allowed to sleep, there is power to sleep' and **'may sleep.'**

In s. gs. also the word *pūro* meaning 'sufficient' is utilized to express this capacity: *korū (ka) pūro* 'is able to do,' 'may do' etc. As in x here too it is added on to the infinitive of the verb of which the optative is to be built.

§ 280. The mood of necessity is also expressed in x. by the imperative *zāi* of the root '*zā-unk*' added on to the simple root or its infinitive form: *nid-ā-zāi* 'I must sleep,' *nid-unk zāi* etc. In the Brahmin dialects s. gs. we get the forms *nidoṅkāja*, *korkāja*, corresponding to g. *nidūṁk jāi*, *koruṁk jāi*. From this correspondence it would appear that s. gs. have introduced certain phonological changes difficult of explana-

tion. It is perhaps best to consider two alternatives: the s. gs. form *niddoṁkā* is the same as *niddoṁkāǰa*, and shows that the imperative *ǰāi* has disappeared or taken the reduced form *ǰa;* or else we have to consider the potential participle of OIA: *-kāryam*, MIA *kaǰǰaṁ* and NIA. *kāj* (*a*) in combination with the infinitive, meaning 'it is necessary to,' 'it is incumbent upon (one) to' etc.

§ 281. Before proceeding to a discussion of the nominal forms derived from the verbal themes, it is necessary to consider here the negative verb formation of Koṅkaṇī which is remarkable for its simplicity, but at the same time shows a peculiarity which is not generally shared by the other cognate languages.

In Marāṭhī we have the negative forms of *as-ṇẽ* and *ho-ṇẽ* as follows for the present: *nāhī, nāhīs, nāhĩ* in the sing., *nāhĩ̆, nāhĩ̆* and *nāhīṁt* in the plur. for the root *as-*, and *navhē, navhas, navhe* in the sing. and *navhō, navhā* and *navhet*, or *navhat* in the plur. for the root *ho-*. The negative construction then amounts to using these auxiliary forms with the participial forms of the major verbs: *ǰāt nāhĩ̆*, °*-nāhĩ̆s*, °*-nāhĩ̆*, etc. or the present, *ǰātõ* (*-ī, -ẽ*) *nāhī*, etc. for the past, *hoṇār nāhī* etc. in the future, *ǰhālo* (*-ĩ̆, -ẽ*) *navhatõ* (*-ĩ̆, -ẽ*) for the pluperfect. Only in the past habitual forms we have:

Sing.	Plur.
mī hoĩ̆-nā	*āmhĩ̆ hoũ̆-nā*
tũ̆ hoĩ̆s-nā	*tumhĩ̆ vhā-nā* or *vhā-nāt*
to, tī tẽ hoĩ̆-nā	*te, tyā, tī hot-nā* or *hoĩ̆-nāt*

in the sense 'I was not wont to become.' Here we get the forms *nā, nā* (*s*), *nā* in the sing. and *nā, nā* (*t*), *nā* (*t*) in the plural.

In addition to this type of negative construction, we have the conditional *mī na hotõ*, (*-ẽ* fn.), *tũ̆ na hotās* (°*-ās, -tẽs*), *to* (*tī, tẽ*) *na hotā* (*hoti* f. *hotẽ* n.) and the subjunctive °*-naye* added on to the infinitive, and the imperative with the form *-nako*.

In Gujarati corresponding to the present indicative *hũ jāvũ chũ.* 'I am going' the negative construction is *hũ jato* (*-ī* f., *-ũ* n.) *nathī, ame jatā* (mfn.) *nathī.* Similarly we have *hũ nahi jāvũ* 'I will not go' and *hu nahi jaīê* 'I shall not go,' the first expressing will and the second futurity.

Comparing the two cases considered above, we notice that Marāṭhī has properly recognised negative forms of the auxiliary verbs which help in establishing the negative verb inflexion, while Gujarati has only one form *nathī* which is used for the same purpose, and at times, specially in optative and future forms, its equivalent *nahi.*

In the dialects of Koṅkaṇī, however, the negative of the verb 'to be' or 'to become' has become merely the negative particle *na* to which are added the same terminations as for the verb *ās-wṅk*:

x. *nā, nāi, nā* (sing.) and *nāũ, nānt, nānt* (plur.)

old. x. *nā, nāssi, nā* (sing.), *nāũ, nāthă, nāti* (plur.)

s. gs. *nā,* (sing. all persons), *nāti* (plur. all persons).

The above only illustrate the present indicative. Similar forms exist on the basis already discussed above under Imperfect, Past, Future, etc. These inflected forms are added on to the simple verbal theme: s. gs. *sodda-nā,* old gx. *sodi-nā,* x. *nidanā* etc.

§ 282. The past and imperfect forms of the negative verb are as follows:

x. *nātlo* (*-ī, -ẽ*), *nātloi* (*i-, -ē*), *nātlo* (*-ī, -ẽ*); *nātlyāo, nātlyāt, nātle* (*-yo, -ī*).

s. gs. *nāśilõ* (*-ī*), *nāśilo* (*-ī*), *nāśilo* (*ī, -ē*); *nāśile* (*-ī*), (*-ī*), *nāśile* (*-ī, -ẽ*).

It is clear from this that in s. gs. the forms are really those of the root *ās-wṅk* preceded by the negative particle *nā-;* in addition to these forms s. gs. have the participial forms *nāttilo* etc. on the same analogy, but used nominally: *thaī nāttilẽ hāṅcā melḷẽ* '(a thing which) was not there was found here'.

This particular type of s. gs. brings us to another variety of negative formation in old gx. Father STEPHENS gives another form: *na-sodi* as the equivalent of *sodi-nā*. For the past (see § 255, p. 60) he gives *na-soditālo* corresponding to s. gs. *soda-nā śilo, sadi-nā-śile,* x. *nidănātilo.* In the succeeding articles Father STEPHENS quotes a greater number of examples with this type of construction whereby the affirmative forms are merely preceded by the negative particle *na-*.

§ 283. In the case of the Imperative, corresponding to Marāṭhī *nako* we have following forms in Koṅkaṇī:—

Sing.	Plur.
s. gs. *nākā*	*nākāti*
x. nx. *nākā*	*nākāt*
old gx. *nākā*	*nākāti*

These are added on to the ordinary infinitive forms of the main verbal themes. s. gs. *koru* > **korũ -nākā* > *kornakā,* but *vŏccu-nākā.*

§ 284. Corresponding to Marāṭhī past habitual quoted above, we have in s. gs. the future optative: *kariś-nā, kariś-nāti* 'will not do, shall not do.' Father STEPHENS gives two series for the future: *sodinā zāśi* or *na-sodiśi.*

The negative mood of necessity is expressed by adding *-naja* to the infinitive: s. gs. *koru-naja, māru-maja* etc. Compare x. *niduṅk nŏzŏ.*

In opposition of s. gs. *kariś-nā* we have also *karas-nā* in simple futurity, with which we can compare x. *nid-sonā* 'I shall not sleep.'

The optative form is given by Father STEPHENS for old gx. as follows: *nasodlyā pūro;* compare this with x. *nidănā zālyār puro.* In s. gs. besides the same form as in x. we have *na* and *pūro* coming together giving a compressed forms *napro* which can be similarly used: *sodlyāri napro* 'it is not enough to seek.'

§ 285. The interplay between the mere negative particle *na-* acting as the negative verb and combining with *āsuṁk* for the same purpose as in Marāṭhī, may best be illustrated by the participial forms; s. gs. *kār-nāstānā* 'while not doing,'

x. *nidănā- stānā* 'while not sleeping, without sleeping,' and old gx. *na- soditānā*.

Nominal Forms of the Verb

§ 286. The most important in this category are the present and past passive participles, to which may be added the Infinitive and Absolutives as not being personal forms of the verbs.

Present Participle

§ 287. The present participle in Koṅkaṇī goes back to similar MIA forms: Pk. *tiṭṭhanto*: *tiṭṭhantā*. The termination is *-tā* (MIA °*-anta-ka-*): s. gs. *kar–tā* x. *nid–tā* 'sleeping' etc. When the participle is being used as an adjective we have the °*-alla- ka-* extension: x. *nid–tolo*, s. gs. *niddatālo* '(one who) is sleeping' The nasal found in Pāli masc. sing. *tiṭṭhaṁ*, acc. *tiṭṭhantaṁ* is preserved in Koṅkaṇī present participles used adverbially: *kartă kartă* 'while doing', etc. Oddly enough Father Stephens does not give illustrations of this form either under participles or gerundives. The only cognate form which he records (see § 248) is the adverbial *zātanā* 'while happening', *zāte vele* in the same sense. Corresponding to this we have in x. *nid-tānā*, *nid-tāstānā* or *nid-tā āstā* 'while sleeping,' and in s. gs. *niddatānā* 'at the time of sleeping.' Both Father Stephens and Father Maffei prefer to call this form a gerund, but in reality it is the extension of the present participle. The *-nā* extension is probably to be connected with the *-lā* or *-lo* extension of Mar.Koṅ., see *La langue marathe*. § 262, p. 260. Both the forms discussed above come under the category of absolute forms derived from the present participle.

Past Passive Participle

§ 288. The past passive participle of all dialects of Koṅkaṇī is based on a similar formation of MIA with °*-alla-ka-* extension (the variants of which are °*-illa-ka-* and °*ulla-ka-* in MIA). New formations are then based on this analogy in the dialects of NIA. Thus we have the first of all s. gs. *gello*, x. nx. gx *gelo* (**gata-allaka,-illaka-*) s. gs. *mello* (**mṛta-allaka-,-illaka*), x. nx gx. *melo*: then forms like s. gs. *čor-tā*: *cor-lo* where the MIA *alla-ka* extension is regularly added

on to the present indicative base. Hence we get forms like s. gs. *śind-tā*: *śind-lẽ*, x. *zāṇ-tā*: *zāṇ-lẽ*. A remarkable form on this analogy is s. gs. *di-t(t)ā*: *di-l(l)ẽ*, x. nx. gx. *di-tā*: *di-lẽ* corresponding to Sk. (*dádāti, dátte*) *dáti*: ppp. (*-dāta-, dattá-* and) *°-dita-* and MIA *de-i, diṇṇa-*.

By the further extension of this *-la* suffix we have the adjectival use of the past passive participle: s. gs *nidda-lo*, x. *nid-lo* 'he, she, it slept,' s. gs. *nidda-le-lo* 'he who had slept,' x. *nid-lolo*. In s. gs. we have the regular oblique of the past passive participle adjoined to this *-la-* extension. See *La langue marathe*, p. 256 (§ 256).

By its very nature the past passive participle is both a verb and a noun. Its nominal forms showing gender and its capacity to take postpositions clearly demonstrate its nominal character, while the nominal phrase system in epic and later Sanskrit, in Middle Indo-Aryan and modern IA dialects, has already given it a verbal character for past narration. Thus we have a s. gs. *kellyẽ uprānte* 'after it is done' which becomes in rapid speech *kelle uprānte*. Similarly we have *kellyār(i)* 'if it is done' with the locative postposition *-āri*.

Future and Obligatory Participles

§ 289. Mention was already made of the Mood of necessity previously (see § 280 above). The genitive postposition *-čo -cī* and *-cē* is added *on* to the simple present theme: s. gs. *kor-uka*: *kor-čo* (*-ī, -ē*), x. *nid–uṅk*: *nid–čo* (*–ī, –ē*) 'who is to sleep', etc. old gx. also records forms of this type: *zāũ-co, āsu-co*, etc. It shows that originally the postpositional elements were added on to the infinitive forms like *zāū-(-ka)*, *korū-(-ka)*, etc., whence a gs. *kor-cē*<**korucẽ*<early gx. *korū-cẽ*.

In the impersonal manner in which women address their husbands, these future and obligatory participles take the place of the present and future indicative and present imperative.

Infinitives and Absolutives

§ 290. The infinitive sign in Koṅkaṇī is based upon OIA: *-itum*, MIA, *iuṁ*, but the proper form as quoted in dictiona-

ries and grammars is the one with the dative postposition *-ka*: x. *koruṁ-ka* (<**kor-uṁ-ka*), s. gs. *mārū-ka* (<**mār-uṁ-ka*), the nasal being lost in the normal course in these dialects, with compensatory lengthening.

A second type quite as common is the future and obligatory participle with the dative postposition: s. gs. *korcyā-ka*, *mārcyā-ka*, etc. from *korcẽ*, *mārcẽ*. A variant of this is the dative of the genitive of appertinance formed from the simple infinitive form; x. *nid-uṁ-k*: *nid-uṁ-cyā-k* 'for sleeping, in order to sleep, to sleep.'

The future and obligatory participle in the neuter also stands for the infinitive by itself or for the act itself: s. gs. *mārcẽ* 'to beat' or 'beating; and shows a parallel development to other I-E. languages of the present day.

Absolutives

§ 291. The absolutive termination in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī goes back to an *ur-* form **-aunnu* giving *us* in s. gs. *(u)nu*: *voccũnu*, *kor-nu;* x. *-un*: *nid-un;* gx. *-unu; zāunu, sodunu*, etc.

This suffix may be compared with old Marāṭhī **-vauni*, mod. Mar. *-ūn*. Corresponding to this we have in Sk. *-tvāna*, *-tvīnām*, MIA *-ttāṇaṁ*, *-ūṇa* (<**tuāna*) and later Apabhraṁśa *-eppi (ṇu)*, *-vi (ṇu)*.

Phonologically Koṅkaṇī **-aunu*, Mar. **-(v)auni* should go back to a common origin which may be represented by **-(v)auṇṇu, i-* or ** -(v)aunnu, i;* this in turn may be reconstructed from a possible Apabhraṁśa **-tuaṇṇau* or **tuaṇṇai* or **-tuaṇṇu*, **-tuaṇṇi* representing a contamination between the forms *-tvāna* and *-trīnam* of OIA. For a discussion of this problem of intervocal *-n-* in Mar. *-ūn* < Pk. *-dūṇa*, *-ūṇa* see Bloch, *La langue marathe*, p. 261, § 264.

§ 292. A second way of expressing the absolutive sense is to add the suffix *-ci* to the present participle in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī:—

x. *nid-tă-č* 'having slept,' s. gs. *niddata-ci*. gx. *zāto-ci*.

This suffix *-c* (*i*) is representative of Sk. *-t-ya*: Pk. **-ccia*,

the normal ending of Sanskrit absolutives of verbs preceded by prepositions.

ADVERBS

§ 293. Like the adverbs of other NIA languages, those of the dialects of Koṅkaṇī are based on (a) nouns, (b) pronouns, (c) older adverbs or (d) adverbial expressions.

(a) Based on nouns: s. *vaggi*, ns. *beggi-*, (Kan. *bēga-*) x. gx. *veg*, etc.

(b) Based on pronouns: s. gs. *kaśśi*, *taśśi* (< Sk. *ka-*, *ta-*,) etc.

(c) Based on older adverbs: s. gs. *āji* (Sk. *adya*), etc.

(d) Based on adverbial expressions: under this category may be included the older adverbs with case forms made from nouns or adjectives: s. gs. *phāyi* (Sk. *prabhāte*), *kāli*, (Sk. *kalyam*), etc.

§ 294. Among the chief types of adverbs may be mentioned adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of manner and a few miscellaneous adverbs.

Below are listed a few of each in the several dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

Adverbs of Time

s. gs.	old gx. of Father STEPHENS	mod. gx. nx	x.
ājі "today"	*āji*	*āz*	*āz* or *āy*
āttā "now"	*ātã*	*ātã*	*ātã*
kāli "yesterday"	*kāli*	*kāl*	*kāl*
phāi "tomorrow"	*phāi phāūsŏi*	*fālyā*	*falyā*
pairi "day before yesterday"	*pŏiri*	*poir*	*poir*
averi / *averã* "two days after tomorrow or before yesterday"	*āveri*	*āvēr*	
porũ "last year"	*porū*	*poru*	*porū*
kednã "when"		*kednă*	
ıjūni "up to now"	*āzunu*	*āzun*	

Adverbs of Place

s. gs.	old gx. of Father STEPHENS	mod. gx. nx.	x.
hāṅgā "here"	*hāṅgā*	*hāṅgā, hõi*	*āṅgā*
thaĩ "there"	*thŏi*	*thoi*	*thāi*
khaĩ "where"	*khoi*	*khoi*	*khāi*
	thăṅgā "there"	*thiṅgā*	
mukhāri "in front"	*mukhāri*	*mukār*	*mukār*
	poisŏ "far, long"	*pois*	*pois*
ns. *vairi* "above"	*vŏiri*		
mākṣi "behind"			
hekkaḍe "on this side"		*hikḍe* *heuśī*	*yevśi*
tekkāde "on that side"		*tikḍe* *teuśī*	*teuśī*
bhittari "in side"	*bhitori*	*bhitor*	*bitŏr*
bhāira "outside"	*bhāirŏ*	*bhāir*	*bāir*
gs. *sakala* 'down'	*sŏkolŏ*		*sākāl*

Adverbs of Manner

s. gs.	old gx.	mod. gx. nx.	x.
kaśśi "how"			*koso*
aśśi "in this way"		*ośē*	*osē*
taśśi "in that way"		*tośē*	*tosē*
viṅgada "separately"			*viṅgod*

Miscellaneous Adverbs

s. gs.	old gx.	mod. gx. nx.	x.
ittyāka "way"		*kityāk*	*kityāk*
ānikai "still as yet			

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 295. The following cmparative list illustrates a few of the conjunctions seen in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

s. gs.	old gx.	mod. gx. nx.	x.
āni "and"	*āṇi*	*āni*	*āni*
ki "or"	*ki*	*ki*	*ki*
athvā "or"	*āthavā*	*vō*	*vo, yā*
puṇi "but"	*paṇa* / *puṇu*	*puṇ*	*puṇ, puṇi*
lekkunu, n. gs. *dekunu*		*dekun* "because, therefore"	*dekun*
ǰari "if"	*zōri*	*zōr*	*zŏri*
tari "then"	*tŏri*	*tōr*	*tŏri*
mhaḷyāri "that is to say"	*mhŏṇu mhoṇunu mhoṇcyāka*	*muṇtŏc, muṇun muṇje*	*muṇcē,*

§ 296. It will at once be apparent from the tables above that Koṅkaṇī is largely dependent upon Old and Middle Indo-Aryan for its vocables, whether adverbs or conjunctions.

Before proceeding to the section of syntax we shall consider below in brief the nominal formation of Koṅkaṇī.

Nominal Formation

§ 297. Practically all the suffixes used in the formation of nouns are derivable from Indo-Aryan sources. A few are derived from Persian, Arabic or Dravidian sources, but are chiefly restricted to loan-words or learned borrowings.

The Primary suffixes are added on to verbal bases for the formation of substantives. The other suffixes are secondary in nature added on to (a) substantives for forming substantives, (b) adjectives for forming abstract substantives and (c) substantives for forming adjectives; similarly suffixes are added on to (d) adjectives for forming adjectives, (e) verbs for forming adjectives and (f) adverbs for forming adjectives.

§ 298. **Primary Suffixes:**

-āṇa or *-ṇa*: s. gs. x. gx. nx. *khāṇa* (<*khā-uṁk*), *nhāṇ(a)* (<*nhā-uṁk*); s. gs. *maraṇa*. x. nx. gx. *moroṇ* (< *mor-uṁk*), etc. This suffix is connected with Sk. *-ana* Pk. *-aṇa*, giving action nouns.

From the above are derived the extended suffixes *-ṇī* and *-ṇẽ* (<Sk. *-anakam* giving action nouns): *-ṇī*: s. gs. *nhāṇi* < *nhā-uṁk*; *moḍni* < *moḍ-uṁk*; x. nx. gx. *soḍni* < *soḍ-uṁk*; *foḍṇi* < *foḍ-uṁk*, *moḷṇi* < *moḷ-uṁk*, etc. *ṇẽ*: s. gs. *dīṇẽ*, x. nx. gx. *diṇẽ* < *di-uṁk*; x. nx. gx. *gheṇẽ* < *ghe-uṁk* *poḍnẽ* < *poḍ-uṁk*; s. gs. *ranṇẽ*, x. gx. nx. *roḍnẽ* < *roḍ-uṁk*, etc.

All masc. substantives ending in *-u* generally show the same suffix as the corresponding Sk. words.

-apa, x. gx. nx. *-p* < OIA *-tva*, Aś. insc. *-tpa*, MIA *-appa*: s. gs. *barapa* x. gx. nx. *borŏp* < *barauṁk*; s. gs. *kāṇḍapa* < *kāṇḍuka*; x. *sikop* < *sikumk*, etc.

From this is further derived the suffix *-pi-* s. gs. *vājpi* < *vājuka* x. gx. nx. *borpi*, s. gs. *barpi* < *barauṁk*; s. gs. *rāndpi* < *rāndūka*.

-ti: s. gs. *bharti*, gx. *bhoruṁk*; s. gs. *sukti* < *sukkūka*; cf gx. *sukti*; s. gs. *caḍti*, gx. *cŏḍit* < *coḍuṁk*; s. gs. *deũti* (v. l. *devṇi*), x. gx. nx. *deuti*.

s. gs. *-cē* in neut. nouns: *boscẽ*<*baisūka* 'the act of sitting.' etc. For this suffix see §§ 220 ff. above under the adjective of appertinance.

An extension of the *-ṇa* suffix is *ṇār* in the Christian dialects. The extension *-ār* is to be traced to Sk. *kāra-*: gx. *boḍoiṇār* < *boḍouṁk*; *diṇār* < *diuṁk*; *bhuloiṇār* < *bhlouṁk*; *coḍṇār* < *coḍuṁk*, etc.

Abstract substantives are formed by the following suffixes: *-sāṇi* x. nx. nx. *soṇ*; *sāṇ*: s. gs. *ghāmsāṇ* < *ghām*, but these are to be considered under the secondary suffixes. A few instances may, however, be cited of its primary use: s. gs. *phugsāṇi* < *phuggūka*, *karapsāṇi* < *karapatā*, etc.

-so: *ãmso* < *ãm*: *goḍso* < *goḍa;* etc.

§ 299. Secondary Suffixes:

A. Substantives yielding substantives:

-kār (*u*) masc., *kārṇi*, x. nx. gx. *kārṇ* or *kāriṇ* fem. and x. gx. nx. *-kāṇ* < Sk. *kārin*, *-kāriṇī*: s. gs. *goīkār* 'Goan,' s. gs. *bhikārṇi* 'beggar woman'; x. gx. nx. *bhāṭkār*, *cepekār*, *ghorkār*, *mitkār*; *śetkāriṇ*, etc.

The same suffix appears with the medial *-g-*: x. *mocegār*, *gādiegār*, etc.

The Persian suffix *-dār* also is used in similar circumstances as the holder of a certain post or position: *majedār*, *bhāgidār*, *subedār* etc. in gx. x. nx. and several Brahman dialects.

In mod. gx. the suffix *-ki* is used for abstract nouns: *regidorki*, *sāibiki*, *pilvaṇki*, etc. cf. RANGEL, p. 167.

B. Adjectives yielding substantives:—

-āi: x. gx. nx. *mhārgāi* < *mhārog;* s. gs. *thaṇḍāi*, x. nx. gx. *thoṇḍāi* < *thaṇḍa;* x. *niskăḷai* < *niskăḷ*.

Similar in use is the suffix *-kāi*: gx. *durboḷkāi* < *durboḷ;* *dusmankāi* < *dusman;* *girestkāi* < *girest* x. *askătkāi* < *ăskăt*.

-ki: gx. *khuśālki* < *khuśāl*, *huśārki* < *huśār* etc.

s. gs. *-paṇa*, x. gx. nx. *-poṇ* (< Sk. *-tva-na-*): s. gs. *hoḷḷepaṇa* < *hoḷḷo*, *dhākṭepaṇa* < *dhākṭo;* gx. *ānkvārpoṇ*, *bhoḷepoṇ*, *mātārpoṇ;* x. *koṭṭepoṇ* < *koṭṭo*, *borepoṇ* < *boro*, *nitālpoṇ* < *nitāl*, *kuḍḍepoṇ* < *kuḍḍo*, *mogāḷpoṇ* < *mogāḷ* etc.

s. gs. *-sāṇi*, x. nx. gx. *-sāṇ*: s. gs. *godṣāṇi* < *goda;* *ãṁsāṇi* < *ãm* etc.; x. *koḍsāṇ* < *koḍu;* gx. *kāḷsāṇ* < *kāṭo*, *dhousāṇ* < *dhovo*, *nibrosāṇ* < *nibor*, etc.

C. Substantives yielding adjectives:—

-āḷu, x. gx. nx. *-āḷ*: *movāḷu*: < *movu;* *dhārāḷu* < *dhāra*, etc.; x. nx. gx. *mogāḷ* < *mog*, *māsāḷ* < *mās*, *rosāḷ* < *ros*, etc. This is derived from Sk. *-ālu*.

In the Christian dialects we have the suffixes gx. *-est*, x. *-ist*: gx. *dukest* < *duk*, *guṇest* < *guṇ*, *modest* < *mod*, *piḍest* < *piḍ* x. *sermāvist sermāū*, *būmāpist* < *būmāp*, etc. To these are generally added the forms *girest* in gx. and *mukhiest* in x. If the suffix has anything at all to do with old IA these forms indicate that we have to consider Sk. *-stha* from the root *sthā*.

-ī: s. gs. *nāṭkī* < *nāṭaka*; x. gx. nx. *kāljī* < *kālij*, *gorvī* < *gorva nirbhāgī* < *nirbhāg*, *boḷī* < *boḷ*, *motsărī* < *motsar*, *rongī* < *rong*, etc. This *-ī* is derived from Sk. *-in*.

The superlative suffix *-iṣṭ* is used in almost all Koṅkaṇī dialects: s. gs. *baliṣṭu*, x. gx. nx. *boḷiṣṭ*, *rogiṣṭ*, etc.

The Sk. suffix *-vat* is preserved in K. s. gs. *-vantu*, x. gx. nx. *vŏnt*: s. gs. *budvantu*, x. gx. nx. *budvont*; *boḷvont*, *kāljivont*, *pidevont*, etc.

Several Christian dialects follow the Marāṭhī pattern in having adjectives in *-it*, corresponding to s. gs. *-i* or *-ī*; x. gx. nx. *bormit* < *borm*, *coṇcoṇit* < *coṇcoṇ*, *cokcokit* < *cokcok*, *luklukit* < *lukluk*, *pocpocit* < *pocpoc*, *toṇtoṇit* < *toṇtoṇ*, *soḍ-soḍit* < *soḍsoḍ*, etc. In opposition to these we have s. gs. *saḷ-aḷi* < *saḷsoḷ*, *khaḍkhaḍi* < *khaḍkhaḍ*, *baḍbaḍi* < *baḍbaḍ*, etc. The northern suffix *-it* derives from Sk. *-i-tva-* > Pk. *-itta-*.

Nominal Composition

§ 300. Like all other new Indo-Aryan languages Koṅkaṇī also allows nominal composition, either inherently or purely within its own history.

Thus in s. gs. *kānsaḷa* 'temple' we have *kān* and *saḷa* <Sk. *karṇa-śālā*.

Verbal Composition

301. Koṅkaṇī is fairly rich in these verbal compounds, generally composed of the absolutive form of the main verb in combination with set types of auxiliaries. A study of these forms in all the new Indic languages appears to me essential

if we have to investigate the nuances introduced in the individual languages.

I shall indicate here only a few types which show a definite semantic or syntactic category

The verb s. gs. *soḍuka* 'to leave' is combined with principal verbs showing completion of action, as Hindi *cuknā*: s. gs. *kornu soḍuka* 'to finish doing.' *mārnu soḍuka* 'to finish,' *mhoṇṇu soḍuka* 'to finish talking;' the meaning is also emphatic in character.

The verb s. gs. *ghāluka* 'to place' is similarly used in an emphatic sense: s. gs. *moṇṇu ghālukā* 'to break,' *pinḍunu ghāluka* 'to tear', *kāṇṇu ghāluka* 'to take away', *soṇṇu ghālūka* 'to abandon,' etc.

PART III: SYNTAX

§ 302. This section does not aim at giving a detailed study of Syntax within the Koṅkaṇī group; for this, reference may be made to the individual standard descriptive grammars already mentioned in the Introduction.[1] Further, the general observations of Jules Bloch[2] with regard to Marāṭhī hold good for the Koṅkaṇī dialects also.

The object of the present section is to revive briefly the main current of syntactical characteristics of Koṅkaṇī and the deviation observed therein in the dialects which we have taken up for study. The main differences will be particularly noticed within the two divergent groups: Brahmin and Christian.

Nominal and Verbal Phrases

§ 303. Ordinarily the Koṅkaṇī sentence consists of a subject and a verb:

s. gs. *hǎvã vattã* 'I go'; x. *tujo bāu uśār āssā* 'your brother is clever'; gx. *pArke nhoy te* 'they are not strangers'.

The verb 'to be' is not indispensable to the sentence: s. gs. *to pisso, tã budvantu* 'he *is* dull, you *are* clever'; x. *kurpā gărjeci* 'grace is necessary'; gx. *tujẽ kāḷiz borẽ* 'your heart *is* good', etc. For further details see *La langue marathe* §§ 267-8.

Accord

§ 304. Like nouns, adjectives in Koṅkaṇī are either derived from simple or from extended bases: s. gs. *cāṅgu ghoḍo, cāṅgi gāyi, cāṅga śūṇẽ* in opposition to *kāḷo ghoḍo, kāḷi gāyi, kāḷẽ sūṇẽ*.. In those Koṅkaṇī dialects where the final vowel is pronounced we see this main divergence from standard Marāṭhī in that the gender and number is clearly

1. Maffei 196-314; Rangel 193-259; Jose de S. Rita e Souza 136-56. *La langue marathe* §§ 266-8.

distinguishable: *cāṅgu ghoḍo*: *cāṅga ghoḍe*. With reference to such of the Koṅkaṇī dialects which allow nouns or adjectives to end in consonants, BLOCH's observations for Marāṭhī hold good for them also.

§ 305. As seen above, the adjective agrees in number and gender with the substantive which it qualifies. When there are more substantives than one the adjective agrees with the one nearest to it: s. gs. *kāḷe* (m.) *ghoḍe āni gāḍyo* (f.) 'black horses and (black) carriages'.

§ 306. The adjective agrees in case with the substantive which it qualifies. This we have seen above with reference to the direct case. In the indirect case when the adjective precedes the substantive, the postpositions are used only with the substantive. s. gs. *kāḷyā ghoḍyāka, ghoḍyālẽ*, etc. When the substantive is implied but not expressed the postpositions go with the adjective: s. gs. *kāḷyāk bāndi, dhāvyāka soḍi* 'yoke the black (bull), unyoke the white (bull)'.

Order of Words

§ 307. Ordinarily the subject begins the sentence and the verb or predicate terminates it.

s. gs. *to manuṣyu ghārā vattā* 'that person goes home.'

s. *bud āni zāṇvāi takā rākteli* 'counsel shall keep thee and prudence shall preserve thee'.

gx. *koṇ dukhest nã̄ zāyt* 'who will not become miserable?'

§ 308. The order enumerated by BLOCH[2] generally holds good for Koṅkaṇī also: subject-complement-adverb-verb; the adjectival epithet precedes the noun; the indirect complement precedes the direct complement; words denoting circumstances, time or place immediately follow the subject. The conjunctions are placed at the beginning of the sentence. This system is essentially the inherited system from OIA.

2. *La langue marathe* § 273 (p. 268); *L'Indo-aryen;* p. 306 and *seq.*

Examples:

g. *bhās mhaḷyār utrācī rās aśē hāvē tumkā sāṅglā.* 'I have told you that language is a grouping of utterances.'

gx. *hyā kāmāco sagḷo sarkārān āmcer viśvās davarlā, ānī āmī sagḷe zāṇōv mān koso divūco to* 'The Government has placed entire confidence in us in this work: (knowing this) how can we all honour (obey) him?'

ngs. *śeṭī, gōḍ nā jāḷyār gaḍāsārkē uttar nā* 'well, sir, if you have no molasses to sell, have you no sweet words?'

s. *Anī tānnē čākrā-paikī ekḷyāka āppovn[u], 'hājjo arthu itte' mhuṇu vičārlē* 'And having called one of the servants he asked' "what (is) the meaning of this?"

It will be noticed from these arbitrarily drawn examples from published specimens that though the general order of words is the same as that found in most of the other litérary NIA languages such as Marāṭhī, there is a happy freedom from any hide-bound rule. The remarks of Bloch on Bengali[3] hold good for dialects of Koṅkaṇī also. For variation of emphasis changes the construction of the sentence by a mere change of order in the words employed: s. *hāvē Bombayi-thāvnu āppūsa āmbē hāḷḷyāti* 'I have brought Alfonso mangoes from Bombay,' but *Bombayithāvnu hāvē* etc. 'It is from Bombay that...', or *Āmbē hāḷḷyāti hāvē Bombayi-thāvnu* 'They are mangoes which I have brought from Bombay' or finally *hāvē hāḷḷyāti āppūsa āmbē Bombayithāvnu* 'It is I who have brought Alfonso mangoes from Bombay.' In fact this variation can be played upon to suit any context required by the speaker and the emphasis accordingly shifts from one factor to another.

But there is one particular factor already noticed by the late Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan about the word order in gx. which is worth reproducing here to indicate the influence of Portuguese on this dialect of Koṅkaṇī so far as syntax is

3. *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 307.

concerned (p. 18 of his *Konkan and Koṅkaṇī Language*): The Goa Mail, Bombay, 8th July 1923. *Vortouta tumcho chodd gorgecho anim bari caido diuncheak bori dek tumcheam burgueanc astanam tim lanam. Avoi Bapui sabar pautim khens cortat aplim burguim aiconant vo bexearmi cortat mun aplea sangneanc.*

This passage translated into pure ngs. or ns. by Dr. Chavan is as follows: *tumgelĩ corḍã lahān āstānã tākā barẽ śikṣaṇa divcẽ ho tumgelyā bhāri garječo āni mahatvāčo niyam āsā (āscyāk jāy). Āplĩ corḍã aykanāt āni āplyā sāṅgṇyāčo apmān kartāt mhaṇ āvay bāpūy puṣkaḷ pāvṭī (tāṅgelyā) āṅgar vatāt (khes kartāt).*

The first passage clearly shows the influence of the Portuguese construction of sentences in action, giving almost a word for word translation of a Portuguese sentence. It is a clear indication of the manner in which the gx. literature has come into existence under the guidance of Portuguese missionaries who evidently introduced this translation method as the best way of building up a new ecclesiastical literature. Further, the compulsory introduction of Portuguese by law in the seventeenth century to the exclusion of the mother-tongue may have naturally hastened this process of changing the sentence construction. This change is not seen, for example, in Father Stephens' first Koṅkaṇī grammar.

As the subject of word-order in NIA sentences has already been dealt with by Bloch in his *L'Indo-aryen*, it will not be necessary to repeat here the general characteristics shared by Koṅkaṇī along with the other NIA languages.

§ 309. A brief discussion here is indicated in virtue of § 275 above about the syntactic difference between transitive and intransitive forms of the Imperfect or Past.

When the termination *-la* is added on to a verb with an intransitive meaning the OIA system prevails: *vṛkṣaḥ patitah* > s. *rūku paḷḷo*. Similarly when the original base is transitive the passive meaning is obtained and the OIA construction re-

mains unchanged: *mayā kathitam*: s. *hâvẽ sãṅglẽ, tānnẽ mhaḷlẽ*, etc.

The other construction mentioned by Bloch about the object of action which should normally be in the direct or subjective case, but which has, as in Hindi and particularly in the North-West and Eastern groups of languages, taken postpositions, has become quite normal in Koṅkaṇī: *hâvẽ Rāmāka mārlo* instead of *Rāmu mārlo*: of course examples like *tānnẽ mūsu mārlo* 'he has killed a fly' are perhaps as common as *mūsāk mārlo*.

A certain confusion is seen in types such as *tũ kāma kartā* 'will you work?': *tūvẽ kāma kellẽ* 'have you worked?' leading to *tũ kāma kellẽ*? Here the transition seems to be due to the stress and rapidity of speech habit among the speakers of these dialects, for the question *koṇẽ* always elicits the indirect form.

With a few verbs, however, the direct form replaces the logical subject which should normally be in the indirect form of the instrumental: *hâva tẽ visarlo* instead **hâvẽ tẽ visarlẽ*. For a list of such verbs see *La langue marathe*, p. 252.

IV. CONCLUSION

§ 310. In §§ 7-11 we have seen that the treatment of *ṛ* is normally *a* in Koṅkaṇī. In this early innovation Koṅkaṇī agrees with the South-West and South dialects of NIA as well as MIA. See TURNER, *Position of Romani*, p. 7.

Similarly in the treatment of *ṛt* of OIA Koṅkaṇī shows a preference to the dental treatment see § 86-2* agreeing with the South-West and Central groups.

The third innovation with regard to Sk. *kṣ* shows in Koṅkaṇī the regular *cch*>*s* treatment, agreeing again with the South-West group, 139 (β).

Sk. *sm* regularly becomes *mh*>*m* in Koṅkaṇī, 140 (β). This is again in conformity with South-West treatment.

Treatment of Sk. *tv*>*pp*. § 137 (b), agreeing with the Central groups; examples of the dental treatment with respect to *tv* are not much in evidence but with respect to *dv* the dental treatment is regular; but still there are exceptions, showing the labial treatment.

Initial *y*- becomes *j*- in Koṅkaṇī, § 106, diverging from the North-West and Southern groups but agreeing with the rest.

The early isoglosses mentioned above are reproduced below from TURNER's *Position of Romani*, § 27 with the necessary modifications for Koṅkaṇī given in the last column.

Sanskrit	North-West	SouthWest	Central	East	South	Koṅkaṇī
ṛ	ṭ	a	i, u	a ?	a	a
rt	ṛi	t	t	ṭ	ṭ	t
kṣ	cch	cch	kkh	kkh	cch?	cch>s
sm	sp, ss	mh?	mh	mh	mh?	mh>m
tv	tt	tt	pp	pp ?	tt?	pp
dv	dd	dd	bb	bb ?	dd?	dd
y-	y-	j-	j-	j-	y-	j-
-m-	-m-	-v-	-v-	-v-	-m-	-v-, -v

In all these cases it will be observed that Koṅkaṇī agrees principally with the South-West and to some extent with the Central group. There can therefore be little doubt that judged by its early innovations, Koṅkaṇī belongs to the same group to which Marāṭhī and Siṁhalese (and perhaps Gujarati) belong.

§ 311. In the last section we considered only such innovations as actually occurred in MIA and traces of which were actually seen in OIA itself. Let us now take up the question of later innovations. The chief innovation in this category is the change of *s* to *ś* in the presence of front or palatal vowels, § 107. In this new innovation Koṅkaṇī agrees only with Marāṭhī.

Compensatory lengthening (see § 26ff.) is an important innovation affecting the group Gujarati, Marāṭhi, Hindi, Central Pahari, Nepali, Bihari, Bengali and Oriya, in opposition to the North-Western group.[1] It will thus be seen that Koṅkaṇī also belongs to this group, and the preservation of consonant length from MIA with a long vowel in certain Koṅkaṇī dialects may be secondary and not an original characteristic. Further research is needed on this point.

Initial *v-* (§ 106) remains unchanged in Koṅkaṇī. In the Central and Eastern groups this has become *b-*, probably at a comparatively late date, but compatible with the period for which the NIA begin to make their appearance. The preservation of *v-* initial is characteristic of the West and the North-West where it remains as *w* or a bilabial *v*, with a few notable exceptions.[2] Here again Koṅkaṇī shows its Western characteristics.

§ 312. The phonological data indicated above show that so far as the earliest innovations are concerned Koṅkaṇī agrees with the South-West in the majority of its characteristics and partially with the Central when there is a divergence

1. *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, § 45.
2. *Ibid.*, § 51.

between these two groups. In its later innovation of *s*>*ś* in the presence of palatal vowels it agrees definitely with Marāṭhī.

§ 313. In its vocabulary Koṅkaṇī today shows a large number of vocables preserved in Old Marāṭhī but for which modern Marāṭhī has coined other expressions. This topic has been dealt with a number of times by various scholars. Reference may be made in this connection to the short list given by Dr. CHAVAN in his work.[3] He also notices therein a number of Koṅkaṇī vocables which he finds only in Gujarati and not in Marāṭhī. Now the geographical location of Koṅkaṇī does not justify the inclusion of such of these Gujarātī vocables as have not come to it through Marāṭhī, unless we posit their infiltration in Koṅkaṇī at an earlier period and their preservation subsequently in it, without being replaced by the cognate Marāṭhī vocables. There are a number of Old Gujarati vocables preserved in Koṅkaṇī but not in modern Gujarātī, and it would be interesting to investigate in great detail this fascinating subject.

It will generally be noticed in studying NIA languages from a historical point of view that many of the earlier vocables noticed at the beginning of the older stage of NIA are supplanted in each individual language by other forms which are then exclusively used. In this manner the supplanted vocables soon become obsolete, but the dialects which reach back to these old strata and which survive today show traces of a large number of them. A study of such vocables would be interesting in view of the light they can throw upon the possible affiliation of these dialects to these earlier sources. This subject has been touched here only to indicate the scope for further of research in these interesting dialects.

A consideration of the vocabulary shows that in its purely inherited form the dialects of Koṅkaṇī are nearest to Marāṭhī and Gujaratī.

3. *Konkan and the Konkani Language*, pp. 40-44.

§ 314. Turning to the question of nominal formation we notice that in the case of enlarged substantives the nominative masculine in Koṅkaṇī shows the *-o* form in opposition to the *-ā* form. Thus Koṅkaṇī *ghŏḍŏ* agrees with Sindhi, Gujarātī, Rajasthani and Nepali as against Marāṭhī, Hindi, Braj, Panjabi and Bengali. In between these groups come Kashmiri and Shina.

In the plural of the same case we have Koṅkaṇī *-e* form (<**aya*) agreeing with Marāṭhī in opposition to Gujarātī *-ā* form.

§ 315. Another basis for affiliating Koṅkaṇī is afforded by morphological considerations.

(a) Koṅkaṇī *-čo* (*cī*, *cĕ*) agrees with Marāṭhī.

(b) Koṅkaṇī *-kā* agrees with Hindi *-ko*.

(c) Koṅkaṇī *thā* (*k*) *unu* etc. has a parallel in Oriya and Bengali, § 219 above.

(d) Koṅkaṇī gen. *-gelo* is parallel to the Marāṭhī dative *-lā*.

(e) Koṅkaṇī past participles in *-la* have cognates in Marāṭhī, Gujarati and Bengali.

(f) The causativĕ suffix in *-aya-* differs from Marāṭhī and all other NIA languages where it does not subsist in this form. The *-āvaya-* forms in Koṅkaṇī have cognates in all NIA languages, but in Koṅkaṇī itself are formed from verbs ending in vowels (*khā-vay-tā*, *pi-vay-vā*).

It will be clear from (a), (d) and (e) that Koṅkaṇī agrees with Marāṭhī and differs from it as regards (b), (c) and (f).

§ 315. Taking into account all the main features of Koṅkaṇī we may now definitely assign it to the South-Western group (having Marāṭhī and Gujarati as its nearest of kin) with a tinge of the Central group (Hindi, especially in the dative postposition *-ka*). The differentiations noted in the formation of the direct sing of masc. nouns in their extended form and the divergent postpositions for the dative clearly

mark off Koṅkaṇī as a separate language from Marāṭhī, preserving in many respects an earlier stage of development. Its position as a separate language (and not a mere dialect) is thereby proved, but phonological considerations show that both belong to a common parent Prakrit.

§ 316. Very little is known about the early history of Koṅkaṇī. The first notice and description of the language is to be found in Father STEPHENS' grammar. The study of Koṅkaṇī is chiefly due to the efforts of Christian missionaries and a reference to Dr. Mariano SALDANHA's paper on the history of Koṅkaṇī grammars[4] will make this abundantly clear. For the historian of Koṅkaṇī J. H. DA CUNHA RIVARA'S *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani,* 1857, is still a standard work of reference.

It is commonly averred that before the advent of the Portuguese there was a flourishing Koṅkaṇī literature in Goa which was destroyed by the Portuguese inquisition which commenced by a ruling of 30th June 1541 and continued for nearly two centuries.[5] But the fact that the Christian missionaries themselves were studying the native tongue and composing grammars shows that the mother tongue continued to be in vogue in spite of persecutions. But of literature as such we have no traces. The efforts of Father STEPHENS did not give us any Koṅkaṇī literature, his own Purāṇa being in the form of Marāṭhī current in Goa during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. It would appear from this, as well as from the absence of any literature in Koṅkaṇī outside Goa before the seventeenth century that Koṅkaṇī at no time enjoyed the status of being a medium of serious literature or a court language.

This absence of literature perhaps explains the reason why Koṅkaṇī has survived to this day as a homely language of communion between one and a half million people most of

4. *BSOS,* 8.

5. *The origin of Koṅkaṇī Language,* by Dr. Santana RODRIGUES, pp. 11-14.

whom are bi- or tri-lingual. It is also some times averred that the Portuguese persecutions were so sudden and violent that the Brahmins who fled from Goa had no time either to carry away their family gods or literature with them. Nevertheless the gods have survived and the temples are still in existence, but there is very little trace of pre-Portuguese Koṅkaṇī literature. Unless fresh evidence is forthcoming (and this is hardly to be expected, as even Marāṭhī manuscripts hadly reach back to the sixteenth century and very few Sanskrit manuscripts go beyond the fourteenth) we have to assume that there was no literature worthy of its name in these dialects.

§ 317. As Koṅkaṇī at no subsequent period became either a court language or the language of literature, there was no binding force which could evolve one standard language. With the incoming of the Portuguese and the whole-sale conversion of the Hindus many of the high class Brahmin communities emigrated from Goa before they were overtaken by the zealous missionaries. These migrations must have taken place in several waves, for already in the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* of the seventeenth century we find evidence of Koṅkaṇī Brahmins settling down in Malabar, the southern extreme point of Koṅkaṇī extension. Thus already in the seventeenth century Koṅkaṇī speaking Brahmin communities occupied Cochin, South and North Kanara and the Ratnagiri districts. The migrations must have naturally taken place along the coast-line, and thence extended inwards. The rivers may also have played an important part in these migrations.

§ 318. Viewing the conditions today we may safely presume that Koṅkaṇī was not the language of a single homogeneous community but of a heterogeneous group including Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins. For the dialectical differences we notice are not merely due to this Brahmin-Non-Brahmin classification but is more or less co-extensive with the communities among these two major groups. Thus the classification of Koṅkaṇī goes along hand in hand with the social and communal stratification of society, or guild, as instanced by the language of the Sonārs of Goa or the Gāvḍis

of the two Kanaras. Even within the same community there have been recent differentiations between the dialects spoken in South and North Kanara. Thus we have s. and ns., gs. and ngs. and so forth.

§ 319. The main group of Koṅkaṇī speakers are naturally the Sarasvat Brahmins on the one hand, and the converted Christian community of Goa and the two Kanaras. The social fabric of the Brahmins was carried over even after the conversions took place, and the highest caste Christians were naturally the Sarasvat Brahmins who were thus forcibly converted.

The entry of the Sarasvats into Goa is still a matter for historical investigation; for they look upon Kashmir as their place of origin and depending upon mythical and semi-historical facts contained in the Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa trace their perigrinations to Goa via Trihotra. So far as our present enquiry is concerned the history or this migration is not of much importance to us, although it might throw some light on the peculiar vocables which have survived in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī. Until this history is unravelled we are not in a position to say anything more about the manner in which they adopted the Koṅkaṇī language.

§ 320. As we have seen in detail in the sections on Phonology and Morphology Koṅkaṇī is derived from the South-Western Prakrit traces of which are seen for instance in the Girnar version of Aśoka's edicts. Moreover it shares such a large number of Old Marāṭhī and Old Gujarati vocables which are lost in the modern forms of those languages that geographically we have to place the origin of Koṅkaṇī between Marāṭhi and Gujarati. As the dative postposition *-ka* is observed even from the earliest specimens now available, we have to place its origin within the sphere of influence of the Central group. The question regarding exact provenance of the language will have to be left for future historians of these dialects.

§ 321. It would thus appear that since its very birth Koṅkaṇī became the mother tongue of a number of communi-

ties. The fact that about a million and a half people speak it today in opposition to almost seventeen million speakers of Marāṭhī will indicate that Koṅkaṇī must have enjoyed considerable popularity as a language from the earliest times. And although the present division into a large number of dialects might not characterise the initial stages of its development, there must have been seeds of this differentiation from the very beginning. Even Marāṭhī in its old stage shows several such differentiae in the literature produced in different parts. These differentiae became the basis of dialect forms which ultimately diverged to form separate dialects within the same language group, retaining all the principal features of the language differentiating them from the dialects of Marāṭhī, but developing peculiarities of pronunciation, stress, and even vocabulary which marked them off from one another.

The caste system as well as the guild system in the social fabric of Goa and the Kanaras before and during the advent of the Portuguese helped in the formation of several distinct dialects.

§ 322. Except for some recognition given to Sarasvat Brahmins by the court at Nagar, the capital of the Keladi Kings,[6] and this is mostly traditional account, we have no instance of royal patronage either for Koṅkaṇī or the speakers of this language in any medieval account. Moreover the fact that the early settlers had fled from Goa to the Karnatak, Malabar and Southern Maratha country during the Inquisition period urged on them the necessity of mastering the different court languages of these dominions. For at no time could the Koṅkaṇī speakers be called great industrialists or soldiers. Being Brahmins they gloried in the tradition of Sarasvatī and the only avenue for them was in the administrative service of the different dynasties ruling in those parts where they intended to settle down. The need of mastering these neighbouring court languages such as Kannada, Malayalam or

6. S. S. Talmaki, *Saraswat Families*, Part I, p. 35.

Marāṭhī set up bilingual or even trilingual speakers among the devotees of Koṅkaṇī. This polyglottism forced by economic conditions on these speakers early in the sixteenth century has continued even to this day.

The first effect of such polyglottism resulted in the incursion of a large number of vocables in Koṅkaṇī drawn in from these sources. Thus the dialects spoken in the two Kanaras drew upon Kannaḍa for fresh vocables; the southernmost dialect of Cochin borrowed a number of vocables from the language of Malabar, while the settlers in the Mahrata country drew upon the cognate Marāṭhī to enrich its own vocabulary. But the vitality of the Aryan tongue has resisted the wholesale incorporation of foreign matter, and it is surprising that the number of such words in Koṅkaṇī are not greater than those which have filtered into the greater NIA languages such as Marāṭhī or even Gujarāti. Even Sanskrit shows a very great percentage of Dravidian incursions in its phonology and vocabulary, and it is no wonder that a language like Koṅkaṇī which never became the proper vehicle for literary expression had cause to borrow such vocables from neighbouring court languages which the speakers had perforce to study for their own economic and political upliftment.

While Koṅkaṇī successfully resisted the influences of its more powerful neighbours in the Indian field and preserved intact its phonology and morphology, it was not so successful in its fight against Portuguese. We have already seen that gx. shows a complete subservience to Portuguese word-order in its sentence construction. This in itself shows what political persecution is capable of doing to a given language which has no literature of its own to fall back upon. Besides this, the number of Portuguese words which now form part of gx. vocabulary is far in excess of such words borrowed by NIA as a whole.

The inherent weakness of Koṅkaṇī caused by the absence of a native literature may thus be seen in its reaction to non-Indian languages such as the Portuguese and English. While it may be admitted as a general rule that the earlier genera-

tions knew their mother-tongue well enough, the introduction of English as a medium of education from the High School stage has brought in complications. If one listens to the common speech of the present generation of Koṅkaṇī speakers one is shocked by its complete Anglicisation; the verbs, adverbs or prepositions have been entirely drawn from English and one would scarcely find genuine Koṅkaṇi words to the degree which is required to call the language Koṅkaṇi. To a slightly less extent we notice the same fact about the more fortunate literary languages like Marāṭhī and Gujarati.

While the NIA languages have survived the impact of other languages which were the court languages of different periods, they are not so insular to the influence of the modern court languages of Europe. The main cause of this change is to be sought in the policy introduced in the last century of carrying on higher and even high school education in the foreign medium which has so much upset the natural order of things that in the case of non-literary languages spoken by a completely educated community such as the one formed by Koṅkaṇi speakers there is great danger of the dialects ultimately disappearing- a fact which would be of grave concern to Indo-Aryan linguists.

§ 323. This process of conversion has been going on in a different manner within the Indian group of languages. A good number of Koṅkaṇī speakers consciously adopted the court language of the place of settlement as their mother-tongue and brought up the subsequent generations in those languages. Thus we have a Kannada speaking Koṅkaṇi community in Mysore. More recently we have many Koṅkaṇi-speaking Sarasvats adopting Marāṭhī, Gujarati or even distant Bengali as their mother tongue.

The opening up of new fields of service in British India and the States gave entry to a large number of Koṅkaṇi speakers whose only means of livelihood was in the service of the Government; with the gradual industrialisation of the provinces and the establishment of large commercial houses in various centres the avenues of service increased, drawing

the small number of these speakers from their original homestead to distant parts. A new set of circumstances has been introduced into the already complicated history of Koṅkaṇī, and unless a great genius of the rank of Kālidāsa or Rabindranath gives a fresh lease of life to this language of homely communion and raises it to the level of a polished literary medium, the future for it is not very bright.

§ 324. Recently there has been a conscious attempt in Goa to raise this language to the rank of a literary medium. Many literary works of great merit have been written, for instance, by Mr. VALAVALIKAR. A number of plays have been written and staged in Bombay in s. A renaissance is slowly coming in, but how far it will succeed is a question which the future will decide.

On the other hand a unificatory movement is afoot to mingle Koṅkaṇī with Marāṭhī and to adopt Marāṭhī as the common medium. And the conditions are quite favourable, for Marāṭhī is the nearest to Koṅkaṇī, being derived from the same common ancestor, and a large percentage of the Koṅkaṇī speakers are already conversant with the literary Marāṭhī through the literature of the Saints. But these are problems which would scarcely interest a linguist dealing with the formation of the language. They are of interest to the general linguist alone, and perhaps to political groups. Some general linguist may perhaps undertake this study at a future date when the evolution towards integration or disintegration has already progressed sufficiently.

§ 325. It is not possible to give here an account of all the Koṅkaṇī dialects which are in existence today. A real field investigation may reveal a number of hitherto unknown dialects in this group. I shall merely give some information of the major dialects which have come to my notice.

In the above sketch of the formation of the language we have taken into consideration three representative dialects each of the Brahmin and Christian groups.

s. represents the dialect of the Chitrapur Sarasvats, a highly intellectual community where both men and women have a craving for higher education. At the last census organized by the community in Bombay the total number of people in the community came to about 20,000. A large number of these is naturally to be found in Bombay and its suburbs, probably a fourth of the community staying there. From this community members have gone and settled down in all parts of India. This dialect has two forms as current in South and North Kanara respectively with a distinct accent for each.

gs. is the language of the Gauḍa Sārasvats who not only occupy the two Kanaras along with the Chitrapur Sarasvats but have extended to Cochin also and speak an allied dialect which we distinguish as c. The Sarasvats and particularly the Gauḍa Sarasvats who have remained in Goa speak a dialect which they themselves style as Gomantakī, designated by us as g.

The Christian dialects have been distinguished by us as x. spoken in South Karnara, nx. as spoken in North Kanara and gx. as spoken in Goa and the north. The Christian community has spread as far north as Karachi and has added immensely to the prestige of Koṅkaṇī literature. While the literature published by the Brahmin communities has been invariably in the Devanāgarī characters, the Christian communities have employed Kannaḍa and Roman characters as well.

The rest of the dialects in general are distinguished either by caste name or the name of the place. Thus the Koṅkaṇī dialect spoken in the Belgaum district has been returned in the Linguistic Survey of India as Bārdeskari. Similarly the K. spoken in Sāvantvādī has been designated by me as sv. in my Comparative Glossary.

According to the *Linguistic Survey of India* Kuḍālī dialect is spoken from the Santarda River, which falls in Arabian Sea at Terekhol, in the South, to Deogad, Kankoli, the Phonda Ghar in the north. The eastern and western boun-

daries are the Sahyādrī Hills and the Arabian Sea respectively. It is also spoken in Bombay Town and Island. The numbers returned for the LSI are 193,600 for Sawantwadi, 302,000 for Ratnagiri and 90,000 for Bombay Town and Island.

Dāldīs or Nawāits are a caste of Muslim fishermen, claiming an Arab descent, and speaking a broken Koṅkaṇī. They are found in Bombay Town and Island, Janjira, Ratnagiri and the two Kanaras. Their dialect agrees most with Kuḍāli. I have included in the Glossary dk. and dj. being the Dāldī dialects spoken in Karwar, and Janjira, from the specimens in the LIS.

The Chitpāvani is the mother tongue of the Chitpāvans or Koṅkaṇasthas found in Ratnagiri, Savantwadi and Bombay Town and Island. They speak standard Marāṭhī for intercommunal intercourse, but reserve Chitpāvani for their home tongue. Of course with the newer generations and owing to conditions specified already it is fast disappearing. This dialect forms a connecting link between the dialects of Koṅkaṇī and those of Marāṭhī.

Besides these there are a number of other dialects not recorded in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. The so-called Saurāṣṭra Brahmins of Āndhradeśa who are also found in parts of old Hyderabad State and who pursue the goldsmith's profession generally speak a dialect of Koṅkaṇī. Kaka Kalelkar has referred to their dialect and promised a detailed study.

Another of the less known dialects is Gāvḍī, spoken by a wandering tribe in the Kanaras and in Cochin who deal with and specialize in herbs. In this connection it would be worth remembering that in *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* it was the cooperation of Koṅkaṇī Brahmins which gave Van Rheede the specimens found in Malabar with their native names.

§ 326. The present study of the formation of an interesting language has now come to a conclusion after a period of nearly six years. The main object with which it was undertaken was to stimulate interest in the speakers of these

dialects in the sudy of their own mother tongue in all its completeness and to show the methods which should be applied to that study from the modern scientific point of view.

There are many gaps in this study; particularly for the less known dialects we have still to gather fresh material from the fast disappearing communities. Among the most urgent needs are detailed descriptive grammars of all such dialects, with a study of their phonetics and as complete a lexcion as possible. Perhaps any folk-songs, proverbs, etc. which may still be retained in them need proper recording. Above all, I appeal to scholars in each of these dialects to study their own dialect carefully along the lines which I have tried to illustrate here.

The present work has shown in general the main lines of development of Koṅkaṇī as a language. It is now up to the speakers of each individual dialect to study it in this light, to fill in the gaps wherever they exist, and to recover as much of the dialectical material as it is possible at a time when such material is positively in the danger of being wiped off.

Another work of prime importance which will throw welcome light on the development of Koṅkaṇī is a well-documented history of Koṅkaṇī communities from all available early and medieval sources, and particularly on the entry of the Sarasvats in Gomantaka. Only a careful scholar specialising in South Indian History and acquainted with the first-hand sources of such history will be able to undertake this study.

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Continued on cover page 3